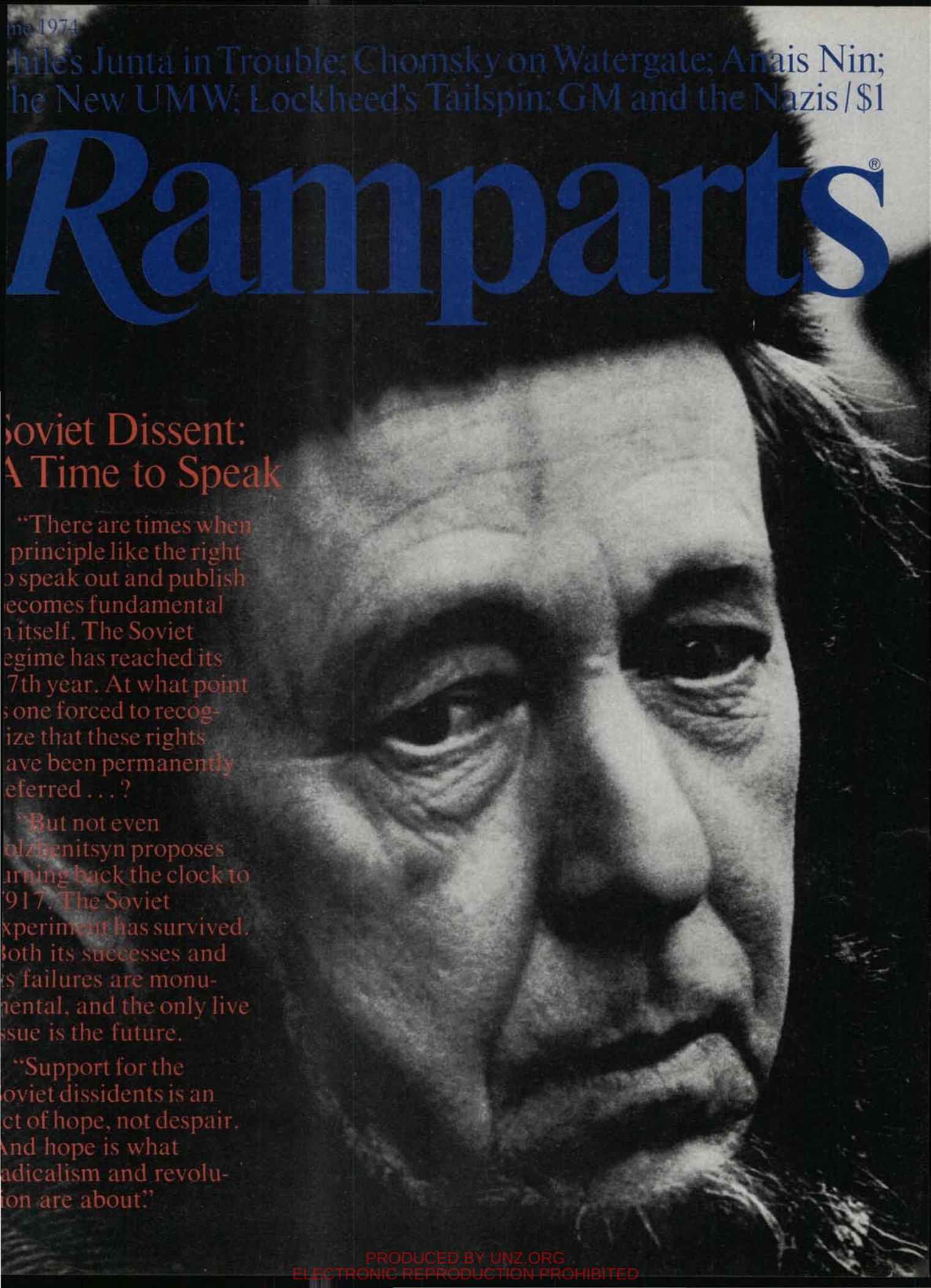
me 1974

hile's Junta in Trouble; Chomsky on Watergate; Anais Nin;
he New UMW; Lockheed's Tailspin; GM and the Nazis / $1

Ramparts®



oviet Dissent: A Time to Speak

"There are times when principle like the right o speak out and publish ecomes fundamental n itself. The Soviet egime has reached its 7th year. At what point s one forced to recog- ize that these rights ave been permanently eferred . . . ?

"But not even olzhenitsyn proposes rning back the clock to 917. The Soviet xperiment has survived. oth its successes and s failures are monu- ental, and the only live ssue is the future.

"Support for the oviet dissidents is an ct of hope, not despair. nd hope is what adicalism and revolu- ion are about."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The finest stereo receiver the world has ever known.

We recognize the awesome responsibility of making such a statement. Nevertheless, as the leader in high fidelity, we have fulfilled this responsibility in every way.

Pioneer's new SX-1010 AM-FM stereo receiver eclipses any unit that has come before it. It has an unprecedented power output of 100+100 watts RMS (8 ohms, both channels driven) at incredibly low 0.1% distortion, throughout the entire audible spectrum from 20 Hz to 20,000 Hz. Power is maintained smoothly and continuously with direct-coupled circuitry driven by dual power supplies.

To bring in stations effortlessly, clearly and with maximum channel separation, the SX-1010 incorporates an FM tuner section with overwhelming capabilities. The combination of MOS FETs, ceramic filters and phase lock loop IC circuitry produces remarkable specifications like 90dB selectivity, 1.7uV sensitivity and 1 dB capture ratio.

Versatility is the hallmark of every Pioneer component. The SX-1010 accommodates 2 turntables, 2 tape decks, 2 headsets, 3 pairs of speakers, a stereo mic and an auxiliary. It also has Dolby and 4-channel adaptors. There's even tape-to-tape duplication while listening simultaneously to another program source. This is another innovative Pioneer exclusive.

The SX-1010 is actually a master control system with its fantastic array of controls and features. It includes pushbuttons that simplify function selection and make them easy to see with illuminated readouts on the super wide tuning dial. FM and audio muting, hi/low filters, dual tuning meters, loudness contour, a dial dimmer control and a fail-safe speaker protector circuit. Never before used on a receiver are the twin stepped bass and treble tone controls that custom tailor listening to more than 3,000 variations. A tone defeat switch provides flat response instantly throughout the audio spectrum.

By now it's evident why the SX-1010 is the finest stereo receiver the world has ever known. Visit your Pioneer dealer and audition its uniqueness. $699.95, including a walnut cabinet.

U.S. Pioneer Electronics Corp., 75 Oxford Drive, Moonachie, New Jersey 07074.
West: 13300 S. Estrella, Los Angeles 90248 / Midwest: 1500 Greenleaf, Elk Grove Village, Ill. 60007 / Canada: S. H. Parker Co.

PIONEER®
when you want something better

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ramparts

Volume 12, No. 11 June 1974

EDITORIAL BOARD
Elliot Kanter
David Kolodney
Patricia Shell
Peter Stone

EDITORIAL STAFF
Peggy Golden
Marina Hirsch

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
David Obst
Stanley K. Sheinbaum
Tom Zeman

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
Andrew Kopkind
David Landau
Michael P. Lerner
James Ridgeway
Derek Shearer

ART STAFF
Diane Coleman — Art Director
Daniel Hunter
Ta Ta Chook

BUSINESS STAFF
Peter Stone—Advertising Director
Don MaGuire
Randy Fingland—Circulation Manager
Anne Matlack
Bruce Stilson—General Counsel
Guy W. Shoup—Special Counsel
Norman Eisner—Publishing Consultant

EDITORIAL ROOMS AND MAIN BUSINESS OFFICE
2054 University Avenue
Berkeley, California 94704

Telephone: Area Code 415
Subscription 845-8859
Business 845-8807
Editorial 845-8871

NEW YORK ADVERTISING
Telephone: (212) 986-8993

Contents Copyright © 1974
by Noah's Ark, Inc.
Marca Registrada

All rights reserved.

RAMPARTS is published monthly by Noah's Ark, Inc. Printed in the U.S.A. Second class postage is paid at Berkeley, California and at additional offices. Indexed in Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature and Alternative Press Index. Microfilm back volumes available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $11.00, one year; $21.00, two years, $30.00, three years in U.S.A. Foreign rate: $13.00, one year; $22.00, two years. Airmail rate: USA, Mexico, Canada, $18.50 per year. Europe, South and Central America, $22.50 per year; rest of world, $27.50 per year. Single issue $1.00. Inquire for prices of back issues and bulk orders. SUBSCRIPTION CORRESPONDENCE: Send both new and old address (enclose recent magazine address label, if possible). Please allow six weeks for new orders and address changes. Request for missing issues older than two months from current date will be honored only when accompanied by payment. MANUSCRIPTS: Include a stamped, self-addressed envelope. RAMPARTS editors assume no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts.

(*Page 25*) Chile

(*Page 42*) Anais Nin

(*Page 37*) Mineworkers

Herein:

4 LETTERS

6 CAMPAIGN REFORM: TO BE TAKEN WITH A GRAIN OF SALT
by Robert Walters

10 THE WATERGATE NET: ONE WHO GOT AWAY
by Tom Zeman

14 GM AND THE NAZIS
by Bradford Snell

17 TRYING TO STAY ALIVE: COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN BROOKLYN
by Jonathan Maslow

21 LOCKHEED: THE HIGH COST OF DYING
by A. Ernest Fitzgerald

25 CHILE: CAN THE JUNTA RULE?
by Richard Pierson

31 WATERGATE AND OTHER CRIMES
by Noam Chomsky

37 MINERS FOR DEMOCRACY: YEAR ONE AT THE UMW
by Ward Sinclair

42 THE NEW WOMAN
by Anais Nin

45 SOLZHENITSYN AND THE RADICAL CAUSE
by David Horowitz

49 GULAG ARCHIPELAGO
by Roy Medvedev

Cover photograph by Jean-Claude Francolos /Gamma
Cover design by Daniel Hunter

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

[ELECTRONIC CLASSROOM]

Editors:

As a concerned parent, I share the warning against wholesale acceptance of technology in education announced by Seltzer and Karger in their article, "Good Morning Class . . . My Name is BZZ VZZ, Caackle," *Ramparts,* March 1974. As an active researcher in educational technology, however, I am distressed that the article by Seltzer and Karger is a simplistic argument based upon incomplete or inadequate information. In their rush to stem the tide of encroachment on education by profiteering publishers or huckstering hardware manufacturers, Seltzer and Karger have ignored important information and distinctions between (a) research and development efforts from attempts to sell products, (b) goals of profit-makers from those of non-profit organizations, and (c) availability of products developed with public funding.

As Principal Investigator of the two Hum RRO projects mentioned in their footnote, I feel compelled to answer Seltzer and Karger. To begin with, the Army project they cite is incorrectly dated. It began in 1967, not 1970 as they report. Secondly, the amount listed by them, $4.3 million, was the *promised* total, which was never received. When the military began to cut R & D funds our research concerning computers and instruction was also cut. HumRRO received 60 percent of the original proposed amount and it was stretched over a longer period than initially promised. Thirdly, unlike SRA and other profit-making companies, HumRRO, a non-profit organization, has been engaged in research to answer questions relating to just what role the computer can properly play in the administering, managing or augmenting of instruction. Fourth, our products from this research have been shared *without profit* with institutions like: Ohio State University, Simon Fraser University, Rochester Institute for the Deaf, and Brigham Young University, among others.

The second study cited by Seltzer and Karger has been an *independent* and parallel effort to assess the state-of-the-art nationally concerning the development and adoption of computer-based learning materials in education. The implication that HumRRO "*shifted its sights*" *is totally incorrect.* Some of the preliminary findings from this study have already been made available to the public through workshops at the University of Maryland, the Annual Educational Technology Conference in New York City (1972) and in a symposium at a recent meeting of the American Educational Research Association (1973).

Contrary to the implicit assertions by Seltzer and Karger that like the profit-makers, HumRRO is "preying on the fears of the consumer," our work has been directed at *informing* the public. We have been studying both the pros and *cons* of using the computer for various purposes in education.

What is perhaps more reprehensible than Seltzer and Karger's damning of HumRRO with explicit guilt by juxtaposition (to SRA's name) is the implied criticism of a much larger group of professional research organizations whose efforts are similarly directed towards providing the public with as much knowledge as possible.

Robert J. Seidel, Ph.D.
Human Resources
Research Organization
Alexandria, Va.

[R. D. LAING]

Editors:

Edgar Friedenberg's article "R. D. Laing: The Politics of Madness" [*Ramparts,* April 1974] touches on our human centers: learning to feel high and whole, and smashing the state of repression at the same time. Polarities between "political" and "psychic" liberation are present in people's minds, but that presence reflects our own victimization. We need the world whole, and that doesn't mean being automatons on behalf of "socialist revolution," or spacing out on beauty of nature while ignoring repression down the street and around the world.

"If my reasoning is correct," Friedenberg says, "demands for a just society, as social justice is now conceived, must continue to conflict very sharply with the demand for personal self-realization." But, as Friedenberg also notes, material exploitation systems and emotional/psychic self-alienation feed on each other—so why "must" that conflict between feeling whole and making social revolution exist? The intimate threads of our daily lives weave the fabric of social life, which in turn fashions those daily threads. After all is said, here we are: Now what do we feel, and what do we feel like doing?

R. D. Laing has pointed out that we don't need to examine theories nearly so much as we need to understand what the theories attempt to describe. To trust our feelings is a liberating process. As a Zen master once said, "The finger pointing at the moon is not the moon"; planetary energy implodes inside us, and as always the time to get it on is now.

Norman Solomon
Eugene, Ore.

[RADICAL ECONOMISTS]

Editors:

One answer to the question, "Could Karl Marx Teach Economics in America?" [*Ramparts,* April 1974] which was not given in the otherwise excellent article you published is that he would be very welcome in the Economics Department of the Graduate Faculty of the New School, though we might quarrel with him over what he really meant from time to time. Unlike most Economics Departments which either do not have a course on Marx or have one "token" survey of his works, we have two full-fledged programs, each embodying a definite perspective on his works and each leading to the Ph.D. Marxian Economics is not the only kind of economics we teach, but in one of our tracks to the Ph.D. it forms the main basis of the required courses.

Even rather conventional economists are beginning to come to grips with Marx. Many of the leading journals regularly carry articles on technical aspects of Marxian Economics and it is widely conceded within the profession, particularly among mathematical economists, that Marx posed all the serious questions of growth and distribution theory in a manner far superior to anything done in the neo-classical tradition. Certainly this is a perspective on growth theory which is embodied in our regular Ph.D. program in which students are encouraged, though not required, to read Marx seriously. So there is at least one large Graduate School in America where you are positively encouraged to study Marx seriously.

Edward J. Nell
New School for
Social Research
New York, N.Y.

Editors:

We are disturbed by the article "Could Karl Marx Teach Economics in America." By presenting a detailed account only of experiences at Harvard, Yale and the U of Mass., Amherst, and quoting only from Sam Bowles, Paul Sweezy and Paul Baran and a number of big name conventional economists, the article gives a very lopsided, elitist view of what is happening to radical economists in this country. As a proclaimed radical-left magazine, *Ramparts* should be carrying an article concerned not just with what happens at elite institutions, as interesting as that may be, but with the situation at more representative universities and colleges where the bulk of radical economists live and work. Radical economists are being denied tenure in many places, leaving eco-economics departments unbalanced and many economists without jobs.

The strength and growth of radical political economics is not that is has appeared at Harvard or Yale, but that it is developing everywhere, spurred on by the Union of Radical Political Economics. Your article barely mentioned URPE, and yet it was URPE members who formulated and presented the resolution condemning political discrimination in economics departments at the AEA meetings in Toronto; it is URPE that provides an organization where radical political economists can get together and share ideas and gain strength from each other; it is URPE that publishes the *Review of Radical Political Economics* which fosters radical research and praxis; it is URPE that provides an alternative presence and forum

(*Continued on page 59*)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I'LL BET YOU $5

I'm Ralph Ginzburg, publisher of the wallet-fattening consumer newsletter **Moneysworth**. I'll bet you $5—the price of a year's subscription—that I can save you at least *one hundred* times that amount (namely, $500), or you get *double* your money back.

What makes me so cocksure? Why is **Moneysworth** so special? Very simply, **Moneysworth** publishes articles on saving money that are *ingenious*. We've saved our readers literally *hundreds of thousands* of dollars.

How do we do it? Take a look at this list of shrewd, enriching articles **Moneysworth** prints:

Cars that Are Stingiest with Gas
How to Earn Up to 12½% on Your Savings
Air Travel at 50% Off
Low-Cost Life Insurance for Non-Smokers
How to Save 20% on Your Food Bill
Pantyhose that Won't Let You Down
Professional Sex Counseling, $00 Per Hour
Earn Interest on Your *Checking* Account
Buying Art without Getting Framed
How to Pay Less for Stocks
American Youth Hostels: Vacationing for a Pittance
How Much to Pay for the Most-Frequently-Prescribed Drugs
How J. Paul Getty, Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller, Lawrence Welk, and Other Celebrities Practice Thrift
The ABC's of Buying Vitamins
How to Get Dental Work Done Cheaply Overseas
14 Ways to Save on Your Phone Bill
When a Negligence Lawyer Can Make Money for You (By Melvin Belli)
How to Wheel and Deal for a New Bike
Scholarships that Go Begging
Home Burglar-Alarm Systems that Are a Steal
How to Cash in on TV Game Shows
Stoves that Are a Turn-On: Product Rating
A Gourmet's Guide to Free Cookbooks
Dishwashers that Cut the Mustard
Easy-Riding Motorcycles
Cheap Skates
"How We Live on $75 a Month"
Hair Dryers that Won't Burn You
Dirt-Cheap Funerals
How to Pare Doctor Bills to the Bone
No-Fault Typewriter: IBM's Correcting Selectric
Movie Cameras that Deserve Oscars
A Guide to Low-Cost, Legal Abortion
The Art of Padding Your Expense Account
How to Collect from *Both* Blue Cross and Commercial Health Insurance
Stores that Undercut Discount Stores
How to Sue without a Lawyer
Treasury Bonds for the Small Investor
Outsmarting the Insurance Adjuster
How Politicians Avoid Income Taxes

With articles like these, it's no wonder that **Moneysworth** readers always finish in the money. Listen to these testimonials from some of our happy winners:

•"By following the suggestions in *Stake Your Claim! How to Work the Social Security Gold Mine*, my wife and I received a $3,135 lump-sum check from Social Security and we now get a $171 monthly pension. Our **Moneysworth** subscription was the best investment we ever made."—*Dr. Silvio Petrillo; La Grange, Ill.*

•"Thanks to the advice in your article 'Inaccurate Billing by the Phone Company,' my firm, the Bayard Pump & Tank Company, has just received a $1,593 refund."—*Armand DiRienzo; Bristol, Pa.*

•"Your article 'How to Fight a Traffic Ticket' saved me a $200 lawyer's fee and a ticket. I did exactly as you suggested—taking pictures of the scene and double-checking the statute book—and came out the winner in court. Many, many thanks."—*W.R. Wendel; Hicksville, N.Y.*

•"Thanks to your article 'How to Buy a New Car for $125 Above *Dealer's* Cost,' I have just purchased a Malibu Sport Coupe at a saving that I conservatively estimate at $350."—*Ron Bromert; Anita, Iowa.*

•"Your article 'How to Avoid Paying an Exorbitant Doctor Bill' saved me $65. As a token of gratitude, I enclose payment for extension of my subscription."—*Carl Wagner; Yorktown Heights, N.Y.*

•"I have deposited $12,500 in a Mexican bank, as you suggested, and have been receiving, every month by airmail, interest at 9%. I am grateful to your excellent **Moneysworth** for telling me about this high rate of interest."—*Charles T. Malburn; Sarasota, Fla.*

•"**Moneysworth** is to be commended for the reliability of its merchandise evaluations. I just bought a Canonet 35mm rangefinder camera—which you recommended as 'First Rate'—and have gotten some beautiful shots with it. Moreover, thanks to **Moneysworth**'s buying advice I saved over 30% on its cost."—*Robert D. Goodrich; Tucson, Ariz.*

•"Your article on low-cost, unadvertised trans-Atlantic air fares enabled me to save $108 on a vacation to Ireland. In addition, once there, I saved $64 on a car rental, thanks to your advice."—*Bernard Bullon; Bronx, N.Y.*

•"Upon **Moneysworth**'s advice, I asked the phone company for an itemized bill. As a result, I discovered that for years I had been paying for a nonexistent extra line. Result: A $550 refund. My trial subscription has paid for itself 110 times over!"—*George T. Petsche; Washington, D.C.*

•"I am grateful for your tip on 'Tax Savings for Teachers'—which saved me the cost of a tax accountant *and* got me a very high income tax refund."—*Charles Bryan; Brooklyn, N.Y.*

To enter your subscription—and take on my bet—just fill out the coupon below and mail it with $5 to: **Moneysworth**, 251 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10019.

Remember the bet: I say that **Moneysworth** will save you at least $500, or you get *double* your money back—$10 for your $5. And there's absolutely nothing to prove. If we're wrong, we'll take your word for it. When your subscription runs out, just write and tell us that we lost the bet and we'll send you $10, with no questions asked. (As a matter of fact, we'll refund double your money if you're dissatisfied for any reason whatsoever.)

On the other hand, if I win the bet, you're at least $500 ahead.

So hurry and enter your subscription right now. You're betting on a sure thing.

MONEYSWORTH®

251 W. 57TH ST. NEW YORK 10019

Mr. Ginzburg, you're on! Enclosed is $5 for a one-year subscription to **Moneysworth**, the wallet-fattening consumer fortnightly. If **Moneysworth** does not save me at least $500 over the next year, I will get *double* my money back—$10 for $5. Meanwhile, I've enjoyed a year's subscription *ABSOLUTELY FREE!*

UP THE ANTE *AND* YOUR SAVINGS: Check this box ☐, enclose $10 and get *THREE* years. In effect, you're getting the third year *absolutely free!!* Double money-back guarantee: *$20* for your $10.

Name _____

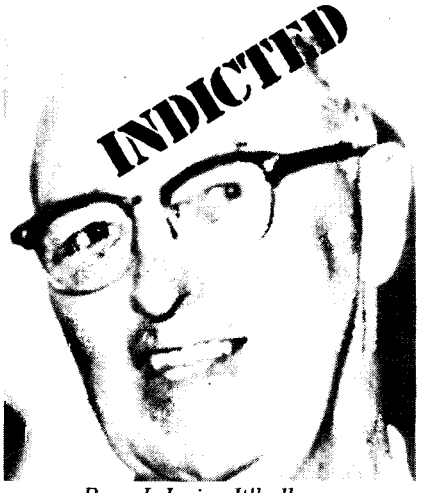
Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

© MONEYSWORTH 1974. LIMIT: 1 SUB. 69_

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Campaign Reform: To Be Taken with a Grain of Salt



Rep. J. Irving Whalley

Rep. Frank Brasco

1974 is destined to be "the year of Watergate" in American politics—and nowhere is that phenomenon more evident than in the manner in which politicians are handling their personal and campaign finances. It's probably naive to assume that the most venal of our elected officials aren't still searching for some way to make a fast buck, but the great majority of those holding and seeking public office—undoubtedly including some of those who have skirted, if not violated, the law in earlier times—can be presumed to have found religion, at least on a temporary basis. Yet in the long run, despite all the sanctimonious talk about cleaning up campaign finances, Watergate is more likely to produce mind-bending gimmickry than substantive reforms.

Niccolo Machiavelli said more than 400 years ago: "Whoever takes it upon himself to establish a commonwealth and prescribe laws must presuppose all men naturally bad, and that they will yield to their innate evil passions as often as they can do with safety." For watching politics this year, the key phrase is ". . . as often as they can do with safety." It is not that human nature has changed much since Machiavelli's time, but rather that we're in one of those exceptional periods when under-the-table transfers of cash often don't even compensate for the political risks involved. Thus for the time being, politicians are talking grandiosely about the "lessons of Watergate" (becoming as much a staple in political stumping as analogies from baseball) while privately taking the advice from gangster movies of earlier years: "Lay low while the heat's on."

Members of Congress, governors, state legislators and local officials—many of whom have not previously distinguished themselves by displaying any particular interest in improving the ethical and moral standards of their profession—are making "good government" speeches on the lecture circuit, offering what purports to be full disclosure of their own finances and becoming increasingly leery of campaign contributions from what they euphemistically call "special interest groups."

Consider, for example, the case of the three dairy farmers' cooperatives whose political action funds are best known for more than $400,000 worth of largesse directed toward President Nixon's 1972 re-election committee at a time when the White House was increasing the federal government's support price for milk. What is not generally known is that scores of other politicians—Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals, state legislators and members of Congress—also have unabashedly accepted large donations from the milk producers' committees, even after those organizations became entangled in the national scandal. It was not until very recently that two well-known politicians, Minnesota Governor Wendell R. Anderson and Kansas Senator Robert J. Dole, decided to return contributions they had received, apparently on the grounds that the dairy farmers' generosity simply couldn't match the potential embarrassment involved in acceptance of the gift. Anderson, a liberal Democrat, turned back $5,000 while Dole, a conservative Republican, spurned $15,000.

Watergate has also opened up a whole new area of media campaigning based on illusory morality. Listen to the advice of one nationally known political consultant: "When someone hires me to run his campaign this year, the first thing I tell him is to make public his income tax returns. Of course, if that's too embarrassing for him, I tell him to have an accountant prepare a certified audit of his personal finances, and release that to the press." In other words, if the full disclosure of the tax forms would tell the electorate something the candidate doesn't want known, there's always the ersatz disclosure of a financial statement carefully constructed to give the proper impression while deftly hiding potentially damaging data.

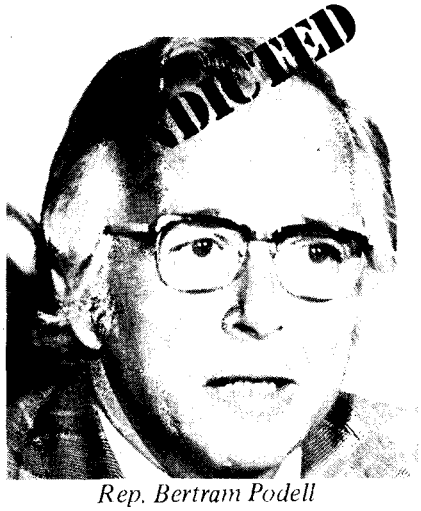
The current federal law governing the disclosure of contributions and disbursements in campaigns for House and Senate seats and the Presidency was signed into law in 1972. It is relatively stringent, particularly in contrast with the statute it replaced—the Corrupt Practices Act, whose ominous-sounding title disguised what President Lyndon B. Johnson once described as "more loophole than law." The current law does not require identification of anyone who contributes $100 or less to an individual candidate in a calendar year, an exemption which does not disturb even the most zealous reformers because, in these days of inflation, no donor can buy a piece of the action in a House or Senate office for such a trivial amount.

[CRUSADERS . . .]

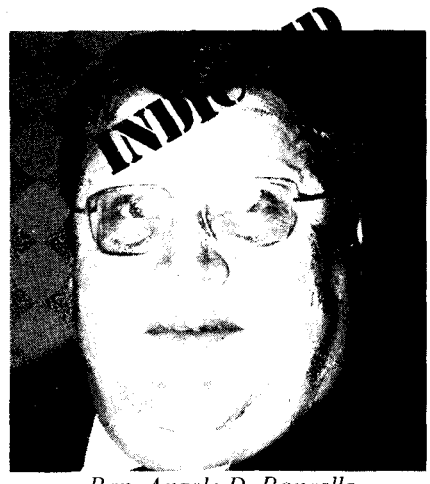
Nevertheless, dozens of members of Congress, anxious to find a gimmick to show the voters how honest they are, have decided to go way beyond the legal requirements

by Robert Walters

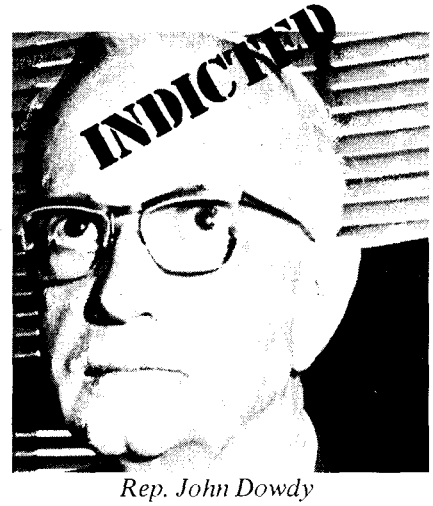
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Rep. Bertram Podell



Rep. Angelo D. Roncallo



Rep. John Dowdy

and are filing for public inspection voluminous reports listing every donation, sometimes amounting to a dollar or less, they have received. As a result, the cause of full disclosure has been set back rather than advanced because the newspaper reporters and professional watchdogs who regularly check those reports must plow through hundreds of pages of nickel-and-dime contributions to find the fat cats. "Schweiker had six contributors of $1,000 or more, but I had to go through 1,700 pages to find them," says one of those campaign watchdogs, Kent C. Cooper of Campaign Finance Surveys.

Cooper was referring to Senator Richard S. Schweiker, a Pennsylvania Republican and one of the more well-intentioned members of the Senate, who earlier this year turned the submission of an unnecessarily bloated financial report into a full-scale media event replete with invitations to wire service photographers to picture him lugging the 6½ inch high report into the Senate Secretary's office. A press release from the senator's office explained that the document listed each of the 5,148 contributions totalling $299,160.40 the Schweiker campaign committee received last year. The press statement also disclosed that buried in the 1,722 pages there were only 226 contributions of more than $100. The remaining 4,922 listings (95.6 percent of the total) merely served to obfuscate matters.

Another Republican up for reelection this year is Senator Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland. He is very deeply concerned about problems of ethics and integrity in government, so it was not out of character when the senator announced late last year that he would allow no cash contributions or expenditures whatever in his campaign and would accept no donations of more than $100 from any individual. Not mentioned by Mathias was the fact that he had, at the time of the announcement, a campaign treasury holding more than $120,000. Moreover, much of that money was raised at a dinner in the spring of 1973 which attracted more than two dozen contributions of $1,000 or more.

In the vanguard of the congressional battle for public financing of campaigns for federal office is Senator Alan Cranston, a California Democrat who also is up for re-election this year. Cranston has been highly vocal about the need for institutional reform to eliminate the influence of the big-money contributors in elective politics, but he has said far less about the fact that he has established nine different campaign committees whose only apparent purpose is to allow the senator's wealthy supporters to legally evade the federal gift tax laws.

Cranston isn't the first to use the technique (Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign employed hundreds of such "dummy" committees and his Democratic opponent, George McGovern, relied upon an identical scheme) but his utilization of the multiple committees stands in sharp contrast to his public position as a crusader for integrity in the campaign financing process. The technique works like this: Federal law allows an individual to make an unlimited number of contributions, but if an annual donation to an individual or organization exceeds $3,000 the donor must pay a federal gift tax on the additional amount. (The statute was drafted to preclude evasion of the federal estate tax through deathbed "gifts" to heirs.) The politician who wants to save his fat cat donors the bother and expense of paying the federal gift tax simply establishes a chain of "dummy" committees, each of which accepts a $3,000 share of any large contributions. Thus Cranston's campaign organization, with its nine committees, can handle a donation of as much as $27,000 without subjecting the donor to any tax liability.

[. . . AND CRIMINALS]

Each of the men described above —Schweiker, Mathias and Cranston—is generally viewed in Washington as a politician of above-average honesty and integrity. And if officeholders of that caliber are resorting to a "fool 'em with fast footwork" response to the Watergate scandals, it's not unreasonable to assume that there will be a great deal of outright deception and fraud in this year's political campaigns, much of it perpetrated in the name of "good government" by far less scrupulous men.

In fairness to those concerned, it ought to be noted that a number of Washington politicians have imposed voluntary restrictions on their fund-raising operations this year. In addition to Mathias, other members of Congress who have announced that they will accept no donation larger than $100 include Republican Representatives Gilbert Gude of Maryland, Pierre S. duPont III of Delaware and Charles Thone of Nebraska. And Representative Charles A. Vanik, an Ohio Democrat, has announced that he "will endeavor to campaign without a campaign fund—no contributions to

Wide World Photos

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be accepted, no funds to be spent, no signs, no campaign cards, no advertising, no purchase of time or space in the media."

But for every congressman mentioned above, there's another who currently is either facing criminal indictment or is already imprisoned following trial and conviction. While much of the nation's attention has been focused on the White House during the past two years of unfolding scandals, similar events have been occurring with considerably less publicity at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, on Capitol Hill:

Former Representative John Dowdy, a Texas Democrat, has been convicted and sent to a federal penal institution after being tried on charges of flying to Atlanta to pick up a briefcase crammed with $25,000 in cash. The money was put up by officials of a "home improvement" company who were facing criminal prosecution and wanted Dowdy to grant them full immunity in return for staged testimony before a House subcommittee.

Former Representative J. Irving Whalley, a Pennsylvania Republican, has pleaded guilty to federal charges of mail fraud and obstruction of justice in connection with a scheme through which 17 members of his staff were required to kick back part of their congressional salary. The money was then used to pay salaries of Whalley's relatives, who had been placed on the government payroll in violation of the federal anti-nepotism statute and "for unspecified business enterprises in which Whalley was engaged," according to the Justice Department.

Representative Bertram L. Podell, a New York Democrat, has been indicted on federal charges of bribery, conflict of interest and perjury in connection with a scheme to secure government authorization for a small airline company to fly a Florida-Bahama route. According to the indictment, Podell acted as the company's attorney in proceedings before the two federal agencies whose approval was required—the Civil Aeronautics Board and the State Department. Federal law specifically prohibits members of Congress from privately representing individuals or organizations with claims before the government. The indictment charges that in return for the congressman's services, his law firm received $12,350 and his campaign committee was given a donation of $29,000.

Representative Frank J. Brasco, another New York Democrat, has been indicted and tried on charges of conspiring to obtain $27,500 in illegal payments to assist a trucking company headed by a reputed Mafia member. The first trial ended with a hung jury, but Brasco is expected to be tried again on charges that he acted illegally in working to secure a government mail-hauling contract for the company, as well as seeking to facilitate an $875,000 loan to pay for the trucks the company needed to carry out the contract.

Representative Angelo D. Roncallo, a New York Republican, has been indicted on federal charges of extorting money from an incinerator operator in 1970, while Roncallo was serving as Comptroller of Nassau County, a New York City suburb. Roncallo is accused of conspiring with two other local government officials to extort the unspecified amount of money from the contractor on the basis of threats that the victim's business would be ruined if the demands were not met. The government charges that after the payments were made Roncallo told the contractor that "everything would be all right."

In each of those cases, the alleged illegal activities occurred prior to the Watergate scandals, but the indictments, trials and convictions have occurred during the past two years. While the country may well be given a brief respite from such hanky-panky during the current wave of "Watergate morality," the behavior listed above is typical of the traditional norm for politicians; the brave talk about cleaning up American politics notwithstanding, there is no reason to believe the nation will not once again return to the same standard.

["NEVER AGAIN"]

In the short term, it's likely that the Watergate scandals will have an impact on the outcome of a number of political campaigns—although that effect will not be what some politicians, particularly Republican leaders, have been predicting in recent months. Those GOP officials first tried to convince themselves and the public that Nixon's problems would have no impact on party candidates who had no relationship with the White House. But that concoction was hastily abandoned after a series of devastating Republican losses early this year in special elections for House seats, all of them in congressional districts which traditionally had been Republican strongholds.

The Republicans then retreated to a new position, offering the notion that a logical result of the scandals would be voter hostility toward all incumbents, since public officeholders presumably represented the type of politics which had led to revulsion within the electorate. Moreover, the Republicans reasoned, since there are more incumbent Democrats than Republicans in Congress, the Democrats would be far more seriously affected in this autumn's elections. That theory has yet to be fully tested, but it seems equally likely that any politician now in office—and who has kept his reputation intact, avoiding even the taint of scandal—will benefit as greatly as he always has from the advantages of incumbency.

What the Watergate scandals probably will provide, at least in this year's elections, is the kiss of death to almost any politician of either party who is publicly identified with any form of illegal or improper activity. Consider, for example, the case of Kansas Governor Robert Docking, who since the mid-1960's has been a seemingly unassailable, unbeatable Democrat in the middle of the nation's Republican heartland.

Docking was first elected governor in 1966, when he overturned a century-old Kansas political tradition which held that no Democratic challenger would defeat an incumbent Republican. In 1968 the state voted overwhelmingly Republican in the presidential, senatorial and all five congressional races, but Docking successfully bucked the tide to become only the second Democrat in Kansas history to win back-to-back elections. In 1970 Docking strengthened his reputation for political indestructibility by becoming the first person in the state's history to win a third term as governor, defeating a Nixon-backed Repub-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lican candidate.

With that dazzling record of voter popularity, Docking was widely believed to be preparing to challenge Senator Dole in this year's general election. At the very least, a fifth term as governor was his for the asking. But in late 1973 the state's Democratic attorney general, Vern Miller, asked the Shawnee County Circuit Court in Topeka to impanel a grand jury to investigate allegations of governmental corruption. On January 22 of this year the grand jury returned a pair of indictments against five architectural firms and 19 persons, including Docking's brother and a former patronage aide to the governor. The first indictment accused the five companies and 18 persons of conspiring to pump $30,000 into Docking's 1972 campaign fund to help pay television expenses, in return for the favorable award of an architectural contract for expansion of the University of Kansas Medical Center. Among those accused of conspiracy was George R. Docking, the governor's brother and chairman of his 1972 campaign committee. The second indictment alleged that Richard L. Malloy, a former patronage aide to Docking, accepted a bribe. Malloy resigned from the governor's staff late last year, citing ill health as his reason.

Late one Saturday night less than two months after those indictments were handed up, Docking went before a group of Democrats attending a party dinner to disclose his future political plans. The once-invincible governor announced that he would not run for Dole's Senate seat and he would not seek a fifth term in the statehouse. Docking is retiring from politics at the end of his current term.

There are other politicians whose associates have been touched by scandal in recent months and who may face the same fate, including Democratic governors Marvin Mandel of Maryland and David Hall of Oklahoma. However, as a tribute to the cynicism or insensitivity of the nation's voters, there are two particularly well-known politicians who apparently retain virtually all of their power despite the fact that their relatives and political allies have become entangled in scandals of major proportions. They are Alabama Governor George C. Wallace, who is expected easily to win reelection this year, and Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, whose famed machine all but steamrollered the reformers who dared challenge it in primary elections earlier this year.

What lasting mark will the Watergate scandals leave on the face of American politics? "If the events of the past year have any meaning at all," says Congressman Vanik, "it should be that the American people will never again permit public office to be bought." That's fine political rhetoric and a noble aspiration, but in practice we're all probably in for a great deal of ducking, bobbing and weaving on the part of politicians who don't want to be dragged into any scandals in the immediate future—and for a return to the great American political tradition of business as usual in the long run.

Robert Walters is a national political reporter for the Washington Star-News.

"Here's To Life" Joan Baez

The new album from Joan Baez is a collection of traditional and original songs from Mexico, Chile, and Spain. The songs all share a simple wisdom and a passion for life that reflect her cultural heritage. And she sings them entirely in Spanish with a beauty and sincerity that make understanding the language unnecessary.

For everyone, "Here's to Life." New from Joan Baez. On A&M Records.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New York Times Photos

The Watergate Net: One Who Got Away

by Tom Zeman

William J. Casey, tall and confident in his blue banker's suit, mounted the witness stand at the Mitchell-Stans trial last March, and waved at John Mitchell at the defendant's table. Casey, the newly inaugurated president of the Export-Import Bank, loudly announced that he was still a friend of Mr. Mitchell. He had a hard time remembering certain items, such as a report he had ordered on Robert Vesco, which Mitchell allegedly passed on to the financier. He did remember John Dean calling him four times about the Vesco case, but he couldn't recall Mitchell's or the President's name being mentioned. The credibility of witnesses was the major issue in the trial, yet Casey was not challenged. There was no one to do it. Casey was called as a witness for the prosecution, but proved friendly enough to the defense so that neither side wanted to impugn him.

His deftness on the witness stand was not the only thing Casey had going for him. In a court proceeding cluttered with the wreckage of a national administration, Casey stood out as one of the few remaining shining examples of success. While many of his political friends' careers were plummeting to a disastrous end, Casey's star was still rising. An old friend of Nixon, he had entered the Administration as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission in 1971. After the 1972 election, Nixon named him undersecretary of state for economic affairs. The *New York Times* placed him on Nixon's "all star team" for 1973. Now, as Eximbank president, he oversees $10 billion a year in loans and credits for American export trade. So as he took the witness stand that March day in New York, no one mentioned Casey's own shady background, nor his current legal difficulties.

"Guys in my position are always getting sued," William Casey declared when asked about his own legal troubles. Casey calls himself a risk capitalist—Senator Proxmire calls him a "wheeler dealer venture capitalist." At any rate, his past business dealings have had a way of landing him in a good deal of legal hot water. The charges are always the same: under the table inside dealing among a company's directors, deception of stockholders, or an artful flouting of the securities laws. His tenure in government, far from making him contrite for his past, has confirmed him in his attitudes. As chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, he went so far as to relax one of the regulations he had been accused of violating as a businessman. He's also played a prominent role in both the Vesco and the ITT affairs. But the remarkable thing about William J. Casey is that none of it has caught up with him yet. In fact, he's doing better than ever.

[THE CASEY STYLE]

The public got its first glimpse of the Casey style of doing business when a stockholder in Advancement Devices, Inc., sued Casey as the "controlling person" in that firm. Back in 1961, ADI, of which Casey was board chairman, was strapped for cash. Casey borrowed $100,000 on his own credit and lent it to the company. ADI decided to raise the money to pay Casey back by offering stock in the company to new buyers. Casey hired an acquaintance of his, Charles Thornton, to prepare a prospectus and sell the stock. Thornton's prospectus described the company in glowing terms, promising it was about to become "one of America's top industries." In reality, the company was on the verge of collapse. The stock was sold, the company repaid Casey most of his loan, and within a year, ADI was bankrupt. One irate investor sued Casey for fraud, and Casey agreed to pay the man an out-of-court cash settlement.

Even more disturbing were the potentially criminal aspects of the ADI episode which, however, were never pursued by the responsible authorities. Casey had neglected to register the stock and the prospectus with the SEC, which would have forbidden the ADI prospectus from making the claims it did. Casey insists that the SEC's registration law did not apply to this ADI stock, since it was only offered on a private basis to 12 investors. But many securities lawyers dispute that view. Anyway, Casey could also have been prosecuted for common fraud, which applies to any sales of stock.

In addition, it turned out that Charles Thornton, the man Casey had put in charge of the ADI stock sale, had had two previous run-ins with the SEC, including one for stock manipulation, and was legally barred from selling securities—just what he was doing for Casey. Casey says he was not aware of Thornton's background at the time, though the two men had known each other for two years.

In 1965, Casey was called into court again, this time as director and chairman of the executive board of Kalvar Corporation of New Orleans. A substantial minority of Kalvar stockholders were suing the entire board of directors for violating securities laws. The stockholders' suit charged that Kalvar was preparing to buy another company, Standard Office Systems of California, at a grossly inflated price. SOS happened to have been owned by friends of another of Kalvar's directors. A group of Kalvar stockholders protested the purchase and the matter came to the attention of California's commissioner of corporations. In order to avoid a hearing in California

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Just What You Need To Recover From Watergate:

The Three More Years Survival Kit

Resignation? Impeachment? Maybe. But he may stick it out until January 20, 1977. Or get his ultimate revenge by leaving us with Gerry Ford. Either way, you must have—you owe it to the wife and kids—the Three More Years Survival Kit. Here's what's in it:

A roadmap. A floodlight. A Who's Who. A skeleton key. A magnifying glass. A crystal ball. An early-warning system. A scorecard.

The roadmap will show you how to get around in Washington, state capitals, and city halls all over America.

The floodlight will illuminate those traditionally shadowy seats of government.

The Who's Who will tell you about the important unknowns.

The skeleton key will tell you how to open the right doors.

The magnifying glass will give you a close look at how things—good and bad—get done, how the machinery works.

The crystal ball will give you an idea of what's possible.

The early-warning system will keep you from being surprised—and unprepared.

The scorecard will tell you where you stand.

Where are all these tools and how do you get them? They're in **The Washington Monthly**, a magazine The New York Times calls "indispensable." I. F. Stone says it is "outstanding" and "doesn't go in for half-assed hysterics." Time says it's "must reading."

Use the coupon below to receive, with no cost or obligation, your complimentary copy of **The Washington Monthly**. If you like it we will enter your name for a six-month subscription—making seven copies in all for only $5. If you don't find it of value, simply write "cancel" across the bill, return it within one month and that's that. In either case the complimentary copy is yours to keep. (If you send your money now we'll add an eighth month to your subscription for saving us bookkeeping costs.)

R-16

The Washington Monthly

1028 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Send my complimentary copy and enter my name for a 6-month subscription for only $5. (Enclose payment and get an extra month.)

Payment enclosed Please bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about the transaction, Casey personally urged the SOS stockholders to fly to New Orleans and consummate the deal there. In addition, the suit complained that Kalvar had issued a misleading proxy statement on the sale in order to cover it up. The stockholders got a temporary injunction, but the deal eventually went through, and the minority stockholders sued for damages. An out-of-court settlement was reached, but the question remains of Casey's possible criminal evasion of the California Securities Act.

Still pending against Casey is a third suit alleging business fraud. In this one, the creditors of the now-bankrupt Multiponics Corporation are accusing the company's board of directors of misusing company funds for their own private benefit. Casey was a founder, director and, until moving to the SEC, legal counsel for the corporation. Among the creditors burned were Lehman Brothers investment bankers, and First National City and Chase Manhattan banks. U.S. District Court Judge Herbert W. Christenberry, in reviewing the case, declared that "some of the things the directors did are inconceivable to me." He ordered the receiver in bankruptcy to sue the directors for $1.5 million in damages, and suggested that criminal proceedings might also be in order. At the time the suit was ordered, Casey was still SEC Chief and his State Department appointment was pending in the Senate. The U.S. attorney's office still refuses to say whether or not an investigation of the case for criminal wrongdoing is under way.

In one transaction, Multiponics bought a farm from one of its directors for $600,000 more than its appraised value. The company pledged $200,000 collateral for a personal loan to another Multiponics director, with which he bought 50,000 shares of the company's stock at $4 a share. According to the suit, Casey was the author of this deal. The Multiponics directors decided to acquire another company which was in very bad financial straits—and in which the Multiponics chairman had a $300,000 interest. Finally, on Casey's advice, the company paid $400,000 to reverse a swap of stock with another company that had taken place the previous year. Multiponics directors were willing to let the company take such a beating to undo the trade, the suit charges, in order to get SEC approval for Multiponics to sell its stock to the public, "so that their own stock, and/or options to purchase stock ... would be greatly enhanced in value."

The giant First National City Bank of New York has filed its own 42-page letter of complaint about Multiponics' dealings. Multiponics borrowed $3.5 million dollars from the New York bank and others purportedly for growth investments. Instead, charges the bank, the corporation diverted $810,000 of their loan to pay back money borrowed from Casey and other Multiponics directors just 22 days before. In addition, Casey and the other directors received options to buy stock at $4 a share in return for their short-lived loan, while First National City stock options were at $12.50 a share.

The bank also complained that Multiponics' "scientific farming" methods it was told about at the time of the loan were in many cases nothing other than old-time sharecropping; some land had not been farmed at all, and much of it was operated at a loss.

Not all of Casey's troubles stem from corporate inside dealing. In 1962 he was successfully sued for plagiarizing a book manuscript while working for Prentice-Hall, Inc. In 1968 he stirred up a storm when he ran a full page advertisement in the *New York Times* headed, "84 percent of Americans support the ABM." The ad turned out to have been signed by several executives, bankers and lawyers who had a direct financial interest in the ABM.

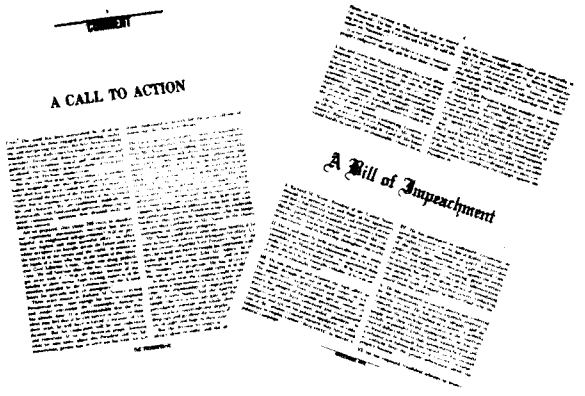
[FLYING HIGH]

To be sure, all this trouble has not gone for nothing—Casey was making something in the neighborhood of $250,000 a year at the time he entered the government in 1971. Nixon, who had known Casey since the 1950s, nominated him to the SEC in 1971, and he breezed through a Senate confirmation hearing. Then details of his business dealings began to emerge, and the Senate Banking Committee decided to hold more hearings. Casey brushed off his legal difficulties as "insignificant." He claimed that the judge in his plagiarism case had said that the jury's verdict was not supported by sufficient evidence, though the judge later denied saying this. Casey admitted that the prospectus he approved for the Advancement Devices securities was "outrageous," but added that the "sophisticated investors" who bought the stocks should have known better than to believe it all. In the Kalvar-SOS merger, he said he saw nothing wrong about plotting to circumvent a public hearing "if grown men decide they want to consummate a transaction quickly and they do not need the protective services of the California securities commission."

Most of the senators seemed not to mind Casey's contemptuous attitude toward the laws and regulations he was to be charged with enforcing as chairman of the SEC. One senator insisted, "We need a fighter to run the SEC," and Casey certainly was that. (Once, while giving a deposition on his plagiarism suit, he threatened to assault the plaintiff's lawyer.) After the rehearing, Casey was cleared for a second time by the Committee, confirmed by the full Senate, and installed as SEC Chairman in April 1971.

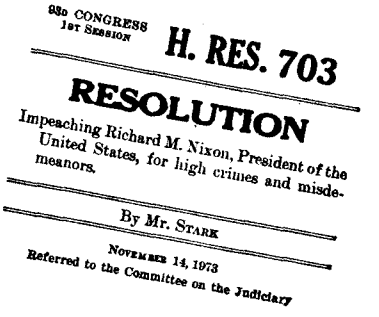
Casey's reorganization of the SEC—which is an independent regulatory agency, not a part of the executive branch—replaced a career civil servant with a Nixon Administration employee as the chief regulator of brokers and markets. The man chosen for that spot was G. Bradford Cook, who later succeeded Casey as SEC chairman, and eventually was forced to resign under fire because of his collusion in the Vesco affair. Casey also moved for the relaxation of certain SEC rules—the very rules he had been accused of violating as a businessman. He proposed that rules requiring registration of stocks and prospectuses be defined so as to allow "highly sophisticated individuals" to invest "in a manner which does not require the delays imposed by accounting and registration considerations." On his last day as SEC chairman, he announced that the Commission had relaxed its rules about speculative forecasting in stock prospectuses. Casey added, "a projection is not a promise and it is not necessarily misleading if it turns out to be inaccurate." It was as if he meant to justify his own past deceptions by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



These editorials in a recent issue of The Progressive

were used verbatim in this Congressional resolution calling for the impeachment of the President and continue to generate nationwide response...



93d CONGRESS
1st SESSION

H. RES. 703

RESOLUTION

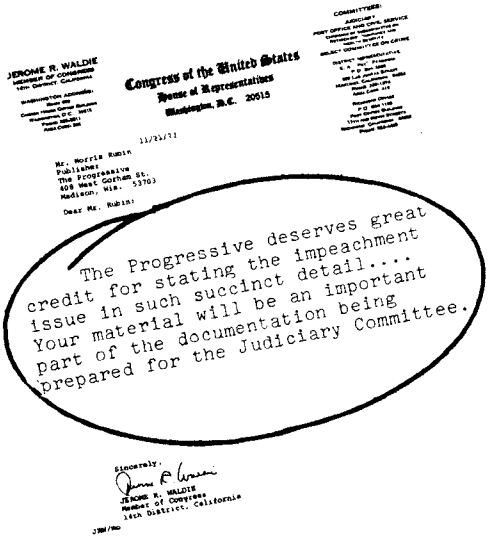
Impeaching Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

By Mr. STARK

NOVEMBER 14, 1973

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

including use by members of the House Judiciary Committee— for example:



JEROME R. WALDIE
MEMBER OF CONGRESS
15th District, California

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

11/21/73

Mr. Morris Rubin
Publisher
The Progressive
408 West Gorham St.
Madison, Wis. 53703

Dear Mr. Rubin:

The Progressive deserves great credit for stating the impeachment issue in such succinct detail.... Your material will be an important part of the documentation being prepared for the Judiciary Committee.

Sincerely,

JEROME R. WALDIE
Member of Congress
15th District, California

For copies of this historic material:

Reprints of "A Call to Action" including the Bill of Impeachment:
10 copies for $1
and with the first 784 orders we will include a free copy of the issue in which these editorials appeared.

☐ I want to subscribe. Please bill me $8 for a ten month introductory subscription (regular price $10).

name_____

address_____

city_____ state_____ zip_____

The Progressive
408 West Gorham Street
Madison, WI 53703

R-2

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

revoking rules against such outlandish projections *ex post facto.*

All of this, however, was overshadowed by Casey's role in the ITT and Vesco affairs. The Securities and Exchange Commission had prepared a case against ITT in 1971. The suit charged, among other things, that an ITT prospectus failed to inform investors that the government's antitrust suit against them was about to be settled, and that the executives illegally traded ITT stock on the basis of that inside information. This was the classic sort of securities scandal that the SEC was created to prevent. But Casey let ITT off with an injunction making them promise not to do it again. Even more significantly, Casey took the lead in deleting a charge of fraud against ITT, even though the charge was supported by the agency's two top law enforcement officials. That charge involved a phony sale by ITT of stock in Hartford Insurance Company, to an Italian bank, which allowed ITT to avoid certain taxes when they bought out Hartford altogether.

But the matter didn't stop there. After Jack Anderson broke the story suggesting collusion between ITT and the Nixon Administration, a number of Congressional committees tried to get the files on ITT that the SEC had collected in the course of its investigation. Those files included 13 explosive memos on meetings between ITT officials, including ITT President Harold Geneen, and John Mitchell, Richard Kleindienst, John Connally, Maurice Stans, Charles Colson and Peter G. Peterson.

As congressional pressure mounted, Casey met with Richard Kleindienst at the Justice Department and John Dean at the White House to discuss what to do with the files. Casey claimed he was merely seeking advice as to the propriety of turning the SEC's files over to Congress. On October 6, three days after a meeting with Dean, Casey announced that Justice had asked for the ITT files to pursue its own investigation. The SEC had cut short its own investigation and shipped the ITT files over to Justice, where they could not be obtained by prying senators and congressmen. But Justice, it turned out, had never asked for the files. Casey had shipped them over there on his own initiative.

Casey's role in the Vesco affair is somewhat murkier. All that is known is that at John Mitchell's request, he met with one of Vesco's lawyers to discuss the financier's troubles with the SEC on the same day that Vesco handed over $200,000 to the Nixon re-election campaign. His forgetful testimony at the Mitchell-Stans trial did not help clear this up.

By 1973, when Watergate and its related scandals had reached full flush, Casey was already gone from the SEC and into the State Department, jetting around the world promoting trade and philosophizing about detente. In mid-May 1973 the Vesco and the ITT cases broke simultaneously. Bradford Cook, who succeeded Casey at the SEC, resigned when it was revealed that he had suggested that data on a Vesco contribution to the Nixon campaign be deleted from an SEC suit against Vesco. Cook, insisting he was trapped in a "web of circumstance," claimed that Casey had concurred in the deletion of the Nixon contribution. A few days later, Casey's role in dropping the charges against ITT for the phony Hartford stock sale was revealed. Casey, by luck or by design, was off on a trip to Latin America with Secretary of State Rogers. No web of circumstances was going to ensnare him. His office in Washington blithely denied that he knew about the Vesco contribution matter, and he didn't comment at all on the ITT matter.

Casey has been flying high ever since. His nomination to head the Eximbank was held up for a while, but he was confirmed after Special Prosecutor Jaworski told the Senate that Casey would not be indicted for Vesco or ITT. About two weeks after his appearance at the Mitchell-Stans trial, Casey testified at a different sort of hearing—one before a Congressional subcommittee from which he was seeking a 50 percent increase in the Eximbank's multi-billion dollar lending authority. His less fortunate friends and erstwhile sponsors in that New York docket and in the White House must have watched him with a twinge of envy, combined, perhaps, with the hope that they too would someday be able to dismiss their legal problems as easily as Bill Casey has, and rejoin him at the pinnacle of power and "credibility." □

GM and the Nazis

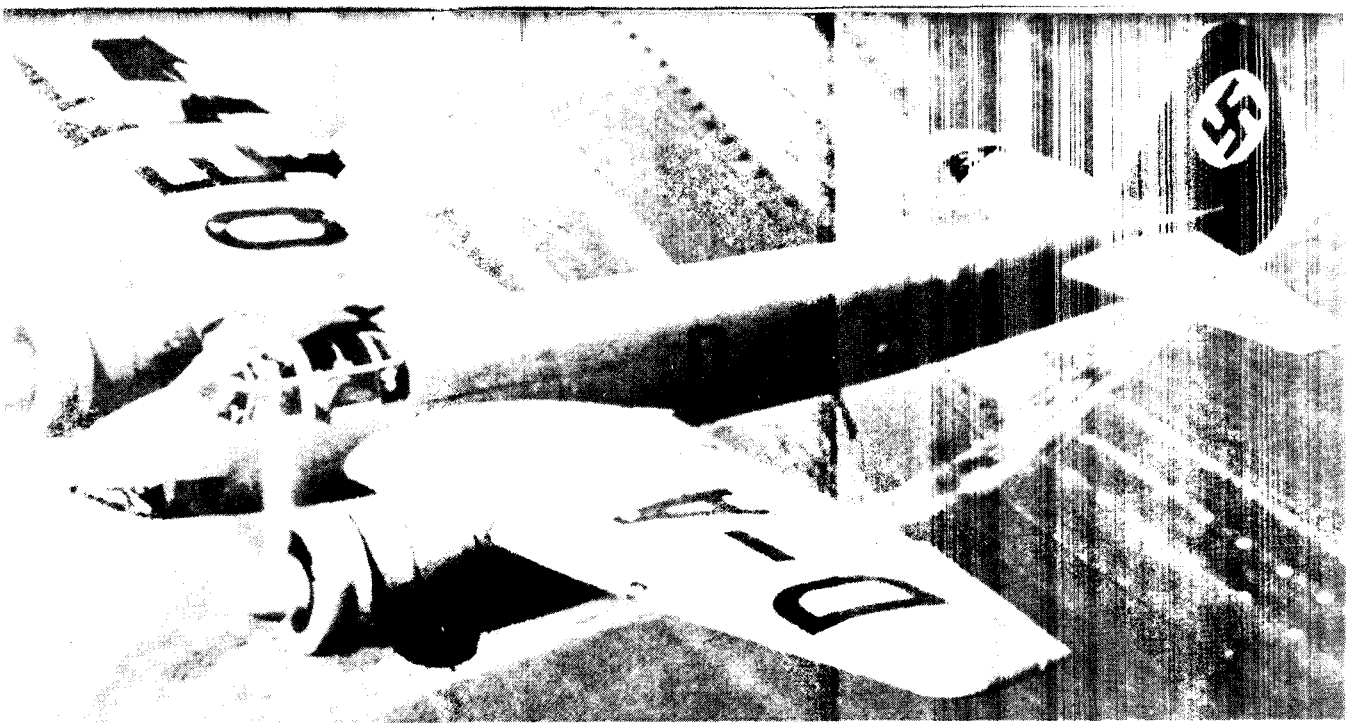
During the recent Arab oil embargo, the major international oil companies had a curious dual role to play. As domestic sellers of petroleum products, they were charged with maximizing supplies of crude oil to the U.S.; as agents of the oil producing countries, they were charged with enforcing the cut-off of those same supplies. While such conflicts have given new political urgency to the question of whether multinational corporations should be entrusted with such vital matters as assuring the availability of energy, the problems posed by multi-nationalism are not entirely new. The astoundingly cynical functioning of America's automobile giants during World War II is particularly illuminating here. Based on recently declassified military and diplomatic source materials, Bradford Snell has pieced together the story and documented the extent of wartime double dealing, especially on the part of General Motors. The following is excerpted from his report to the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly. His work was financed by the Stern Fund.

As owners of facilities in more than 45 different countries, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler can no longer properly be perceived as American corporations. Rather, they comprise supranational and sovereign economic states, which acknowledge loyalty to no particular country. The automakers readily concede this change in corporate outlook. Henry Ford, II, chairman of the Ford Motor Co., for example, has stated: "We don't think of ourselves as a national company anymore. We are definitely a multinational organization . . .." Likewise, GM's Chairman Sloan reportedly told a group of stockholders on the eve of Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939 that his corporation was "too big" to be affected by "petty international squabbles."

Upon first examination, this posture would appear to be in the best interests of international peace. The movement abroad by powerful firms

by Bradford Snell

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The German JU-88 warplane, manufactured in GM's Russelsheim factory from 1939 to 1945.

which already dominate vital industrial sectors at home, however, can produce the opposite result. At a minimum, it presents the dilemma of conflicting loyalties, which can become particularly acute during periods of international conflict.

The activities of General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler prior to and during World War II, for example, are instructive. At that time, these three firms dominated motor vehicle production both the United States and Germany. Due to its mass production capabilities, automobile manufacturing is one of the most crucial industries with respect to national defense. As a result, these firms retained the economic and political power to affect the shape of governmental relations both within and between these nations in a manner which maximized corporate global profits. In short, they were private governments unaccountable to the citizens of any country yet possessing tremendous influence over the course of war and peace in the world. The substantial contribution of these firms to the American war effort in terms of tanks, aircraft components, and other military equipment is widely acknowledged. Less well known are the simultaneous contributions of their foreign subsidiaries to the Axis Powers. In sum, they maximized profits by supplying both sides with materiel needed to conduct the war.

In Germany, for example, General Motors and Ford became an integral part of the Nazi war efforts. GM's plants in Germany built thousands of bomber and jet fighter propulsion systems for the Luftwaffe at the same time that its American plants produced aircraft engines for the U.S. Army Air Corps.

As owner of Germany's largest automobile factory, General Motors was quite naturally a more important factor in the Axis war effort than either Ford or Chrysler, whose investments were substantially less. GM's participation in Germany's preparation for war began as early as 1935. That year its Opel subsidiary cooperated with the Reich in locating a new heavy truck facility at Brandenburg, which military officials advised would be less vulnerable to enemy air attack. During the succeeding years, GM supplied the Wehrmacht with Opel "Blitz" trucks from the Brandenburg complex. For these and other contributions to wartime preparations, GM's chief executive for overseas operations in 1938 was awarded the Order of the German Eagle (first class) by Adolf Hitler.

Ford was also active in Nazi Germany's prewar preparations. In 1938, for instance, it opened a truck assembly plant in Berlin whose "real purpose," according to U.S. Army Intelligence, was producing "troop transport-type" vehicles for the Wehrmacht. That year Ford's chief executive received the Nazi German Eagle (first class).

Given the dominant structural positions of GM and Ford in the war economies of both America and Germany, these firms had the power to influence the course of World War II. They could determine, for example, which belligerent would benefit from their latest advances in war-related technology.

The outbreak of war in September 1939 resulted inevitably in the full conversion by GM and Ford of their Axis plants to the production of military aircraft and trucks. During the last quarter of 1939, for instance, GM converted its 432-acre Opel complex in Russelsheim to warplane production. From 1939 through 1945, the GM-owned Russelsheim facility alone assembled 50 percent of all the propulsion systems produced for the JU-88 medium range bomber. According to the authoritative work of Wagner and Nowarra, the JU-88 by 1940 "had become the Luftwaffe's most important bomber, and remained so for the rest of the war." The Russelsheim facility also assembled ten percent of the jet engines for the ME-262, the world's first operational jet fighter. Wagner and Nowarra described this jet plane as perhaps "the most important military aircraft to come out of Germany." With a top speed of 540 miles per hour, it was more than 100 miles per hour faster than the American P-510 Mustang, the fastest piston-driven Allied fighter. Not until after World War II were the Allies

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

able to develop pure jet aircraft. By producing ME-262 jet engines for the Luftwaffe, therefore, GM's Russelsheim plant made a significant contribution to the Axis' technological superiority in the air.

On the ground, GM and Ford subsidiaries built nearly 90 percent of the armored "mule" 3-ton half-tracks and more than 70 percent of the Reich's medium and heavy-duty trucks. These vehicles, according to American intelligence reports, served as "the backbone of the German Army transportation system." In addition, the factories of Ethyl G.m.b.H., a joint venture of I. G. Farben, General Motors and Exxon subsidiaries, provided the mechanized German armies with synthetic tetraethyl fuel. During 1935-36, at the urgent request of Nazi officials who realized that Germany's scarce petroleum reserves would not satisfy war demands, GM and Exxon joined with German chemical interests in the erection of the Ethyl tetraethyl plants. According to captured German records, these facilities contributed substantially to the German war effort: "The fact that since the beginning of the war we could produce lead-tetraethyl is entirely due to the circumstances that shortly before the Americans had presented us with the production plants complete with experimental knowledge." "Without lead-tetraethyl," the wartime document added, "the present method of warfare would be unthinkable."

It was, of course, in the best interests of GM and Ford to cooperate in the Axis war effort. Although GM, for example, was in complete management control of its Russelsheim warplane factory for nearly a full year after Germany's declaration of war against the United States on December 11, 1941, its refusal to build warplanes at a time of negligible demand for automobiles would have brought about the economic collapse of its Opel plant. Moreover, it might have resulted in confiscation of the facility by the German Government. In fact, on November 25, 1942, the Reich did appoint an administrator for the Russelsheim plant who, although not permitted to interfere with the authority of the GM-appointed board of directors, was instructed to oversee operations. Nevertheless, communications as well as materiel reportedly continued to flow for the duration of the war between GM and Ford plants in Allied countries and those located in Axis territories.

General Motors had owned 100 percent of Adam Opel A.G. continuously since 1929. Accordingly, it selected the Board of Directors and appointed the management which supervised wartime production of all Opel plants, including the aircraft production facility at Russelsheim. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., Board Chairman of GM-USA and GM vice presidents James D. Mooney, John T. Smith, and Graeme K. Howard served on the GM-Opel Board of Directors throughout the war.[1]

GM continued to operate its Opel plants after the United States had formally declared war on Germany without any apparent interference by the German government up until Nov. 25, 1942. At that time Prof. Dr. Carl Luer was appointed as an administrator of the Russelsheim warplane plant. The Darmstadt Provincial Court of Appeal stressed in its appointment of Luer, however, that "the authority of the board of directors shall not be affected by this administrative decision."[2] In fact, the only noticeable wartime change in plant operations was the departure of American personnel. The GM-appointed directors and management remained. "The management during the war remained essentially the same as prewar, with the exception of American personnel."[3]

Communications as well as materiel continually flowed between GM plants in Allied countries and GM plants in Axis-controlled areas, presumably in direct violation of trading with the enemy legislation.[4] A review of the Opel-Russelsheim financial records also reveals that this plant was dealing with GM companies in Axis and Allied countries all over the world, including General Motors Japan (Osaka), General Motors Continental (Antwerp), General Motors China (Shanghai and Hongkong), General Motors Uruguaya (Montevideo), General Motors do Brazil (Sao Paulo), General Motors Overseas Corp. (Detroit).[5]

After the cessation of hostilities, GM and Ford demanded reparations from the U.S. Government for wartime damages sustained by their Axis facilities as a result of Allied bombing. By 1967 GM had collected more than $33 million in reparations and Federal tax benefits for damages to its warplane and motor vehicle properties in formerly Axis territories, including Germany, Austria, Poland, Latvia, and China. Likewise, Ford received a little less than $1 million, primarily as a result of damages sustained by its military truck complex at Cologne.

Due to their multinational dominance of motor vehicle production, GM and Ford became principal suppliers for the forces of fascism as well as for the forces of democracy. It may, of course, be argued that participating in both sides of an international conflict, like the common corporate practice of investing in both political parties before an election, is an appropriate corporate activity. Had the Nazis won, General Motors and Ford would have appeared impeccably Nazi; as Hitler lost, these companies were able to reemerge impeccably American. In either case, the viability of these corporations and the interests of their respective stockholders would have been preserved. On the other hand, the inevitable conflict of loyalties and potential for abuse inherent in such a corporate posture would seem to suggest that in the case of powerful concentrated industries engaged in war-convertible production, multinational expansion may adversely affect America's legitimate interest in national security.

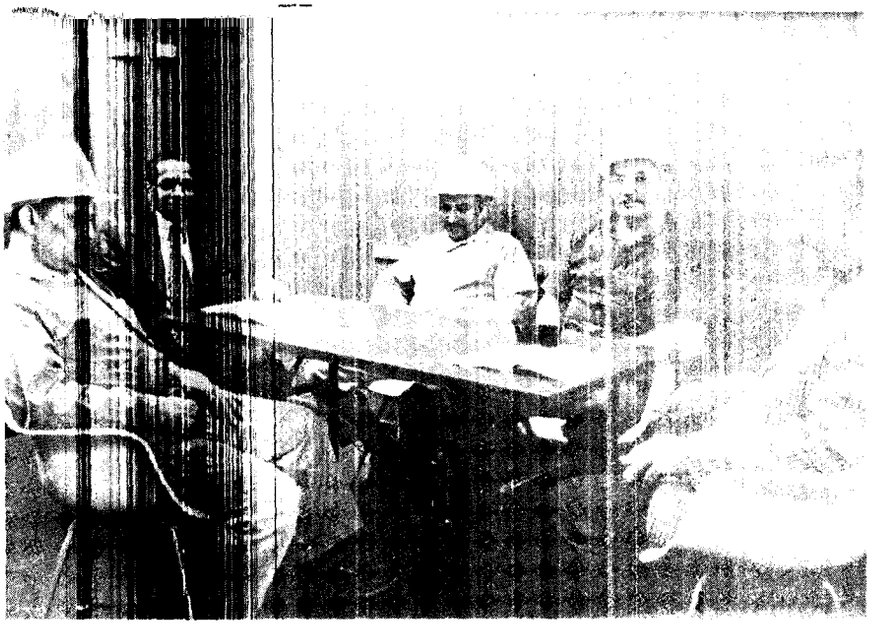
1. "Foreign Economic Administration Business Holdings in Germany of United States Firms," 3-4 (Oct. 1944).
2. Resolution, Handling of Enemy Property: Adam Opel A.G. Company in Russelsheim a. Main (transmitted by the Darmstadt Provincial Court of Appeal to the Reich Commissioner for the Handling of Enemy Property. Berlin W.8, on Nov. 25, 1942).
3. U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey. Munitions Division. Motor Vehicles and Tanks Plant Report: Adam Opel—Russelsheim, Germany 1-26 and exhibits D-1, E-1 through E-4 (18 August 1945: Confidential; declassified June 22, 1973).
4. Telegram, U.S. Secretary of State, Washington, to American Legation Bern (Switzerland) Doc. No. 508163 (sent) July 7, 1943, 2 p.m.
5. Adam Opel Aktiengesellschaft-Russelsheim Am Main. Jahresbericht Und Bilanz Fur Das . . . Geschaftsjahr 1944.

Copyright © 1974 by Bradford C. Snell. *Mr. Snell is assistant counsel to the Senate Monopoly and Anti-Trust Subcommittee. He is presently writing a book on GM to be published by Knopf.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trying to Stay Alive:

Collective Bargaining in Brooklyn



Do-All negotiating committee: Andy Seay (seated) [illegible], and Pedro Diaz, Arcadio Pinto, and Felix Tirado.

The days are over when unions went into negotiations without considering the employer's well-being. Trade unions, for better or for worse, accept certain rules, the most notable of which is that anything won by labor can be maintained or improved upon only by associating the workers' interest with that of the economy in general and the industry in particular. When times are good, and workers feel the promise of the good life coming within their reach, they rally behind their union. But in a time of inflation, fuel and raw materials shortages, and threatening unemployment, interest lines break. The delicate alliance between employer, union, and worker cracks and strains. Long-latent conflicts and tensions emerge. And it often turns out that the long-term interests of the union conflict with the prompting of rank-and-file militancy.

The troubles of the times are most threatening to the small, marginal unions and the small, marginal companies. Big Labor does not, after all, represent the majority of unionized workers; and most employers are not corporate giants. While the Autoworkers or the Steelworkers negotiate on behalf of hundreds of thousands of workers with titans like General Motors or U.S. Steel, much of organized labor remains to this day an amalgam of tens of thousands of affiliated locals. Their jurisdictions are scrambled. Their memberships range from the thousands to a dozen. Their methods vary. Their autonomy, honesty and militancy also vary. Yet these locals are the rank and file of the American labor movement. And when it comes time to negotiate a new contract, the small local and the small employer circle each other like two little fish, preparing to do battle in a sea full of sharks.

* * *

Anderson W. Seay (pronounced C-A) is a business agent, negotiator and troubleshooter for Local 107 of the United Paperworkers International Union. Local 107 represents about 2500 mostly semi-skilled workers in 65 disparate and mostly low-wage shops in and around New York City. Late last year Local 107's contract with the Do-All floorwax company was due to expire. Andy Seay, for ten years himself a worker in a paperboard plant, was responsible for opening negotiations on that contract:

As Seay arrived at Do-All's sooty, brick-faced Brooklyn factory, he was a man in the middle. He was carrying demands for a $20 pay increase and an increase in health and welfare benefits; he was facing a company that he knew couldn't meet all the union demands in a year when it had been hard hit by shifts in the national economy.

A negotiating committee had been formed. It consisted of four workers who had volunteered at an open shop meeting—the same men who had worked on the 1970 contract, and substantially the same ones who had negotiated in 1967.

All the men of the committee were Puerto Rican, as are all Do-All's workers. There was Arcadio Pinto, a 20-year Do-All veteran, and by his seniority something of a patriarch. There was Angelo Reyes, expansive, mellow, another long-term Do-All man. Felix (Filly) Tirado, buoyantly pudgy, betrayed a tiny shameful smile, as if to say, "OK, let's see what they'll give us." Finally, there was shop steward Pedro (Petie) Diaz, strikingly younger than the others and much more fluent in English. He stood waiting for the union man with his feet spread apart, his hands thrust deep into the pockets of his grey work uniform, and a sharp, almost creased look of worry upon his face.

Seay came in. "All right, let's go," said the business agent, and led his platoon forward into the company offices.

They entered a windowless, airless room piled high with maintenance product catalogues. Do-All Vice President Ted Stevens sat at the head of a bare wooden table, dressed in a blue worksmock. He began to address the committee on either side of him and Andy Seay on the other end.

"I couldn't afford that kind of increase if I wanted to, Andy," he began. "If anything, the company's been running at a loss. If I had to give you $20 a week I'd be out of business."

It's a standard gambit from the

Photographs by Abby Robinson

by Jonathan Maslow

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

employer's end of the table. But Do-All's actual rate of profit won't enter the negotiating room. "We would never discuss the actual figures," Seay told me later. "If the negotiations committee knew exactly how much Do-All was making, they'd demand three-quarters of it in salary increases." Instead, Seay parried.

"Well, you know," he replied, "we'll have to find a place where we can live together. But with the cost of living going up as it is, money is going to be the big thing on our minds."

A Do-All personnel list tells that tale. Felix Tirado earns $152 a week for 40 hours of work. Angelo Reyes and Arcadio Pinto make $148. Pedro Diaz brings in $120. With the exception of the shop steward, the men sitting at the table were the highest paid workers at Do-All.

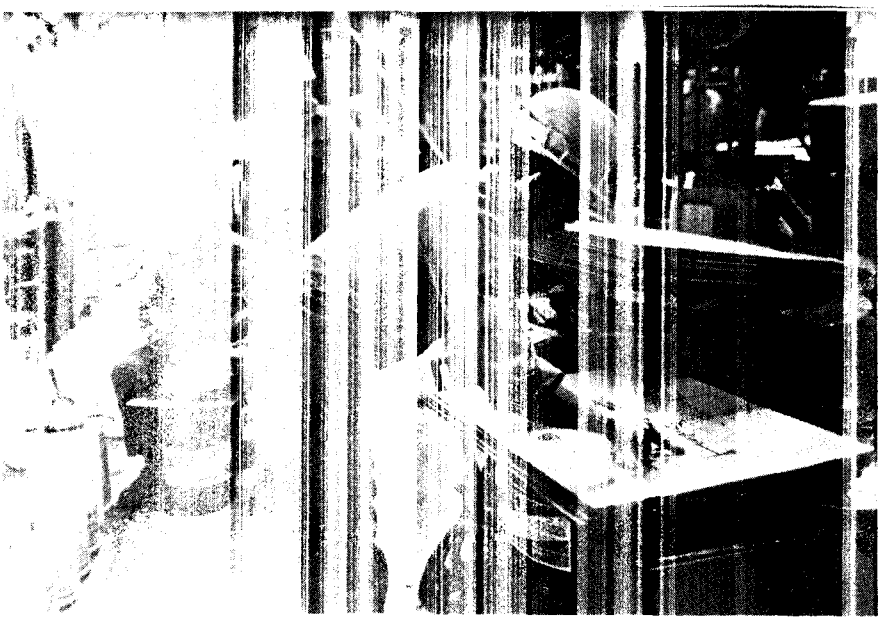
Most of the other 17 Do-All employees earn between $90 and $110. It was toward them that the company's next counter-proposal was directed.

"Let me preface by saying that the company would like to be able to equalize wages in the shop," said Ted Stevens. "We'd like to raise up the guys at the lower end of the scale by giving them a larger increase than those at the higher end. Frankly, Andy—and Mr. Goodman [the owner] agrees with this because we've discussed it—I feel bad for the guys who've been working here six or eight months and are only making $85. I'd like to give them a little more."

The members of the committee, all older workers at the upper end of the scale, glumly considered management's magnanimity.

But the offer was unacceptable to the union for reasons other than the committee's vested interest. Both sides present understood that when layoffs come in 1974, with the expected closing of one Do-All plant, the newer workers, with less seniority, would get the heave-ho first. The larger pay envelope offered here with one hand would soon be taken back with the other hand. But perhaps more to the point, the company's offer to balance older workers with newer ones would unbalance the union's efforts to standardize wage rates on the basis of seniority.

"I don't think that would help very much," the union man countered.



Inside the Do-All plant

"Why don't we talk about fringes first?"

In a few minutes, Seay and Stevens had agreed on vacations, notifications of plant closings, and a few other border points. But the company stiffened at the demand for increased severance pay, and Andy called for a caucus of his committee.

"I think we should stop negotiating at this point," he stated flatly. "We've gotten most of the crap out of the way and the negotiations are going to revolve around the money."

Petie, the shop steward, smacked his lips but looked disappointed. "We won't get $20?" he asked diffidently.

"No," Andy replied sternly. "He'd have to close up and send everybody home. You knew we couldn't get it. We're here to negotiate with the guy."

Petie looked genuinely crushed but Arcadio Pinto, the patriarch, came to the rescue.

"Fifteen dollar," he announced. "They no make it fifteen dollar," and he waved his hands furiously over his head. "Look, subway fare 60 cents, newspaper 15 cents," he sobered, and leaned menacingly across the table, staring at the business agent. "In case the boss no pay fifteen dollar, we go on strike."

"Let's not talk about a strike so fast," Andy urged. "You wouldn't go out for a dollar, would you?"

"Listen," warned Arcadio, "My point is, everything goes up. Why wages go down? You here to listen, no to give us information. When you listen good, then you negotiate."

Andy Seay decided to do just that, and the first session ended with no further discussion.

[ONE CONTRACT, MANY INTERESTS]

Listening is actually just one part of Seay's job. Seay plies his trade with four things in mind: the economy in general; the company's potential for concessions; the union's institutional interests; and the shop's demands.

At Do-All now—as at many similar small companies—hardships this year are very real and serious. There are signs that a nationwide shakeout of marginal companies is under way, especially in the petroleum-based industries. The base materials of Do-All's products are 90 percent petrochemicals, and in the last year, materials prices have skyrocketed.

Fully two-thirds of the company's floor products are sold to the Army under fixed contracts. Because of the difficulty in obtaining materials, and their rising prices, delays and cost overruns are inevitable. When the contract expires, Do-All has decided to forego its government business. The company will probably be forced to close one of its two Brooklyn plants and to lay off some of its employees.

Do-All, once a subsidiary of the Technicolor Corporation, is now owned by Stanley Goodman. Since Goodman took over in 1964, he has been approached by prospective corporate buyers such as ITT and Metropolitan Life Insurance. "It's a trend for the giants to absorb the little companies," said Ted Stevens, Do-All's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two Do-All employees

vice president, "but at this point nobody wants to invest because of the materials situation. But if the shortages abate a little, there'll be companies coming around again."

A merger into one of the conglomerates has its temptations for Do-All executives. Such a move would give the company access to a larger firm's marketing system. And merger into a company controlling raw materials would end the inordinate amount of energy—half of all of management's working time—spent in foraging for base chemicals. A large conglomerate could also afford the expensive high-speed automated "reactors" to replace the old oil-heated boilers in which Do-All's wax formulations are prepared. But one reactor would also do the work of five men, and Ted Stevens admits this would "put a dent in the union."

Local 107 cannot ignore the future. Ever greater concentration in industry makes life more difficult for small unions. If Do-All were swallowed by a conglomerate, formidable problems would be added to Local 107's position. With too small a staff, a collection of 65 independent contracts, and its "personalized" shop services, the local lacks the managerial tools for bargaining with a monolith.

The AFL-CIO already has an Industrial Union Department, which tries to coordinate solutions to the problems of small craft unions facing large corporations. For its part, Local 107 is trying to standardize all of its contracts toward the day when the little companies it deals with are bought out and the small unions of its class start to lose control. A standard contract for all its shops would allow focusing the union's energy in one direction and giving more punch to a strike threat.

While these broader considerations are primary for Seay, the agent must mind the voice of his rank and file. They must be convinced of a contract's worth in order to ratify. And if they fail to ratify, none of the other interests are served.

[ON THE TIGHTROPE]

From the start of any contract talks, the union man begins the psychological struggle to mold the negotiating committee toward the day when they will sell the contract to the shop for him. It is a process that entails cajoling, succor, attrition, momentum, and a feel for steering that warns the agent when he is on or off course.

But even if a negotiator has a talent for reading the minds of his committee, workers can play their cards too close to the vest for him to pick up their signals or play the wrong cards entirely and force the negotiator's hand. Misinformation and missed communications result in longer negotiations, weaker contracts, and agent-committee tensions.

The second Do-All negotiating session, one week after the first, led to a situation that exemplified the fragility of this agent-worker relationship. The misunderstanding began when Do-All President Stanley Goodman abruptly introduced fuel-saving measures into the contract talks. Middle-aged, bald as a hardball, negotiating in a tough, Brooklyn accent, Goodman warned the union of cutbacks.

"What we want is to have the option in the contract of changing the work schedule for four ten-hour days, if that proves necessary during the heating season. Maybe everyone will like it better. I've read it's supposed to be the coming thing in unions. But if we don't go on something like this I'm afraid we're going to have full weeks without work late in the winter."

Neither the company nor the union feel it is their duty to sacrifice anything for the oil companies. If anything, the fuel crisis, like Mr. Nixon's now defunct pay board, has become merely another weapon in the arsenal, hurled across negotiating tables to see if any blood is drawn. And Goodman's proposal seemed to call for the employees to sacrifice their overtime pay for longer-than-eight-hour days.

Andy Seay called his committee into caucus to hear them out on the four-day week. Overtime is the bread and butter of the low-wage manufacturing worker. It makes the difference between being able to live on a paycheck alone and having to supplement pay with welfare. At first, however, the men easily acquiesced to Goodman's proposal. The union came back and told Do-All that the shop would agree to the four-day week provided arrangements for overtime were clarified.

By the next session, however, Petie Diaz stopped the union negotiator on the shop floor right outside the office to declare "the boys no want a ten-hour day."

Andy Seay was flabbergasted. "But you agreed to it in the negotiations," he admonished the shop steward.

Petie shrugged as if he were a helpless bystander in the tumultuous clamoring of the rank and file. "But the boys no want it," he answered. "It's all right. We no sign a contract yet."

But it was not all right, for quite apart from the specifics of the issue, a mercurial committee indicates to management a lack of control by the union. What was bothering the boys was the very overtime issue which Seay had been careful to leave open for further negotiation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Seay reported to management that the men had "misgivings" on the four day week. The issue was belatedly dropped from the agenda, but the men, now aroused and suspicious, carried their doubts into other areas. When the company offered a $24 pay package at the same session—to be spread out at $10 the first year, $8 the second, and $6 the third—*el comite* not only harshly slapped down the proposal, but began to question the very nature of the negotiating process.

"How many wax places got this union?" Arcadio demanded to know when the committee was in caucus. He was told the union had only this one. "Then the union know nothing about this kind of work. I'm sorry. This is crazy," he concluded, folding his arms across his chest and shutting his eyes.

Seay was forced in the next weeks to expend nearly as much effort finessing his negotiating committee back into line as resolving the contract issues across the table. He accomplished this by stepping up pressure on both sides.

To the committee he said: "I must be perfectly frank with you. I know he won't give you a $20 increase. If I tell Goodman that we'll stand on the $20 demand, he'll close up shop and that's that. Look, I know you want a big salary. Everyone wants a big salary. But for God's sake be realistic."

To the Do-All management Andy also got tougher: "We're rejecting your offers and we're so far apart there's no point in continuing our discussions. The cost of living has gone up so far that the people think they have to get a decent increase. We know your costs have gone up. But the kind of raise you're offering would be eaten up in two months and you know it."

Ted Stevens nodded sadly when he heard this. "I know," he lamented. "Aside from these negotiations, I'm in the same boat. I haven't seen any money out of this company all year."

Carefully and slowly, like a tightrope acrobat on a bicycle, Andy Seay raised the company up and pushed the negotiating committee down in the sessions approaching the contract deadline, until a balance was reached. As the distance of the two sides diminished, the workers admitted there was less and less reason to go out on strike.

And as the size of the probable settlement dwindled from original demands, the committee turned in two directions. They began to adopt a new attitude toward fringe benefits, which before had seemed all but inconsequential to them. Pedro Diaz made sure that the cost-of-living clause would remain the same. Arcadio Pinto became mildly enthused over the new dental program. There was the feeling that whatever the boys couldn't get in dollars and cents, they would try to make up in benefits.

But the negotiating committee—weary of the weeks of meetings, impatient with the talk—also began to apply a coat of cynicism to their disappointment. They saw that in the months ahead they would be working less overtime. They still did not believe that the oil shortage was anything but a mangement excuse to lower their earnings.

"In case they have trouble with oil, close the plant," remarked Arcadio Pinto, "they no have to pay nobody. Close the plant! I tell you what. I go for the contract if he [Goodman] send one check every month to my landlord. Call him back. Maybe he give us one penny more. Tell him we go for ten dollars and one penny."

Such bitter expressions reflect feelings that come out on the shop floor later. They are the stuff of rank and file alienation from trade unions.

[COMPROMISE]

On November 30, nine days before the strike deadline, while the Stock Market took its worst plunge in years and people felt the first hard bites of the coming recession, Local 107 and Do-All Corporation signed a three-year contract.

Both sides had made significant compromises. The men would get an $11 raise per week the first year, $10 the second, and $10 the third, with their cost-of-living adjustment. Pay for the new workers was standardized. The dental plan was initiated but with only half the time off the union wanted. Health, welfare, and retirement benefits would lag the first two years but then shoot up in the third year to conform to the union's other contracts. And there would be somewhat more severance pay, though not nearly as much as the local had demanded. Hospital leave would have to be substantiated by an authorization, and sick leave was no longer accruable through three years. The Do-All management reserved the right to alter the work schedule according to whatever circumstances dictated. These were the terms of the settlement.

Such a settlement obviously settles precious little, but that is not the fault of the union or the company. Do-All will still be pushed out of the Army supply business and have to lay off workers. The remaining workers, although they will be earning higher hourly wages, will be hurt by loss of overtime. The union will get a good measure of standardization, but only in the third year of the contract. And the company's willingness to capitulate in the third year indicates that it expects either a sellout, merger, or change of management to take place that might very well harm standardization anyway. In short, the marginal company and marginal union proved too weak to buck the current, too confined to explore any new principles. Problem-solving had only shifted the problems from one area to other areas, or, at best, into the future.

Nevertheless, as soon as terms were agreed upon and hands had been shaken all around, Andy Seay grabbed a phone to call his office and get the local's OK before writing a binding memo. He wanted that memo signed before the workers' committee left. Even an hour outside might change their minds, start them reflecting, perhaps, that weeks ago they were going to walk out if they didn't get $20.

But Local 107's president was out at a union luncheon and wouldn't be back for an hour. The business agent hung up the receiver. He was in a quandary while Stanley Goodman was telling the men to get back to work and earn their raise.

Ten minutes later, Andy Seay was out in the shops getting a ratification vote with or without the office go-ahead. There are too many things transitory about even a successful contract agreement and Seay was taking no chances. He worried more about the rank and file than about his boss's nod of approval.

Jonathan Maslow is a freelance writer based in New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lockheed:
The High Cost of Dying

Many authorities blame the dinosaurs' extinction on the fact that these giant beasts outgrew their food supply. Like all true reptiles, they continued to grow as long as they lived. The more they ate, the bigger they grew. The bigger they grew, the more they *had* to eat. Some grew so large and heavy that their legs would not support their huge bodies unless the monsters were partially bouyed up by water. Handicapped by immobility, a natural torpor and pea-sized brains, the brutes had neither the strength nor the motivation to waddle elsewhere when their puddles dried up. In the inexorable way of nature, they became mercifully extinct, leaving the field to smaller, more adaptive and energetic warm-blooded competitors.

Not so with the aerospace dinosaurs the federal government supports with our tax dollars. Living in a cost-plus world where the laws of natural selection are suspended, all they need do is bellow when their food becomes scarce and taxpayers scurry around getting up more money for them, even if it means making personal sacrifices and burdening their grandchildren with crushing debt. These giant corporations are thus relieved of any real responsibility for controlling their vast appetites, for producing quality goods which people want to buy, or otherwise competing for the favor of consumers. There is little question about what would happen to the aerospace giants if they were forced into a real world of true economic competition.

Last fall Senator Proxmire got some information from Pentagon sources which illustrated just how grossly fat were some of the Pentagon's pet dinosaurs. Based on these figures, an ordinary $400 color television set could cost $8000 if built at efficiency levels displayed by one of the Pentagon's favorite electronic contractors. In my own experience, cost levels of 2 to 10 times what would be tolerable in the competitive consumer markets are commonplace among aerospace giants.

This, of course, explains one of the reasons the Pentagon is the favorite zookeeper for our dinosaur companies. Argu-

Illustration by Sandy Huffaker

by A. Ernest Fitzgerald

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments of "military secrecy" and "national security" may be invoked to prevent detailed disclosure of the fiscal atrocities perpetrated in the name of "defense." Admittedly, there is usually a skeleton of military capability beneath the layers of bureaucratic blubber of the huge weapons programs. This makes these huge corporate boondoggles easy to sell to American taxpayers, most of whom empty their pockets as a conditioned reflex to any offer of military gadgetry to subdue the foreign threat of the moment.

[THE GOLDEN HANDSHAKE]

The largest, best known and least adaptive of these gargantuan feeders at the public trough is Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. During the mid-1960s, Lockheed began compiling an amazingly consistent record of flops in its Pentagon contracts. Making full use of a talent for deceptive bidding on contracts, along with making the right political friends, the giant gathered billions of dollars in Pentagon contracts. Most notable among these were contracts for the much publicized C5A transport plane, the Cheyenne helicopter, the Short Range Attack Missile (SRAM) rocket engines, and the 1052 class of destroyer escorts. All were disasters from the start, but the circumstances were concealed from the public to avoid embarrassment.

Secrecy was especially important in the C5A contract. This grotesque arrangement included a clause later dubbed "the golden handshake" by *Washington Post* writer Bernard Nossiter. In essence the golden handshake provided for increased profits on the second order of the big planes if Lockheed stood to lose on the first order. Once the cost overruns on the first order grew to sufficient size, it actually paid Lockheed to generate further overruns if it could be assured of getting the full second order. Excess profits on the second order would more than offset theoretical losses on the first order, creating a condition called a "reverse incentive" in the technical jargon of the dinosaur-feeding trade. All that was needed to pull off this swindle was to keep the situation covered up until the second order could be placed by the Pentagon.

As a Pentagon Air Force deputy at the time, I was guilty of telling the truth about the C5A situation. In November of 1968, just a few months before the full second order of C5As would have been safely tucked away, I committed truth in testimony before Senator Proxmire's congressional committee that told about the concealed C5A overruns. I was later fired for this crime, thus proving once again Admiral Hyman Rickover's first rule of bureaucratic behavior: "If you must sin, sin against God, not the bureaucracy. God may forgive you, but the bureaucracy never will."

After my firing was announced, the combination of bad publicity for the Pentagon/Lockheed cabal and continuing runaway cost increases prompted a cutback in the planned number of airplanes in the second C5A order. This, in turn, reduced the value of the golden handshake to the point that Lockheed could no longer be assured of unlimited support of its financial gluttony. Almost immediately Lockheed threatened to default on its contracts and go bankrupt if it did not get its way in renegotiating them. As Congressman William Moorhead said at the time, "Who the hell wants 50 tons of dead, stinking dinosaur on his front lawn?" Very few, apparently, especially among the generals and other politicians. For public consumption, the participants in the Great Plane Robbery arranged a carefully staged "fight" over contract terms. In this well-publicized "controversy," Pentagon officials made elaborate plans behind the scenes to take a dive in the mock battle with their favorite contractor.

Part of the Pentagon's plan (which was eventually carried out) for settling their "dispute" with Lockheed was leaked to Senator Proxmire's staff by understandably timid Air Force employees outraged by the brazenness of the C5A giveaway plan. Lockheed's old contract would be torn up; a new, or "restructured" one would be substituted to let Lockheed off the hook. Lockheed would agree to accept a loss amounting to a small fraction of losses assessable under a strict constructionist view of contract enforcement. The "loss" would then be loaned back to Lockheed at no interest for several years and with low interest and easy terms thereafter. Lockheed's contract would be changed to a cost reimbursement arrangement removing contractual ceilings on eventual costs. Financially, the net effect of the so-called "restructured" contract was the same as giving Lockheed a grant of more than a billion dollars. Technically, such a grant is known in Pentagonese as an "amendment without consideration." Legally, the phrase "without consideration" means that you give money without assurance of getting anything in return.

[LOCKHEED RAIDS THE TREASURY]

Isn't all this just plain old-fashioned stealing? Not according to the General Accounting Office (GAO), the Congress' neutered, one-eyed watchdog agency. The transformation and decline of the GAO has been a great tragedy for the American public, but that is another story. The bailout of Lockheed, according to the GAO, is legal because of Public Law 85-804, known as the bailout law. Questioned on the applicability of PL 85-804 and its implementing Executive Order 10789 to the Lockheed situation, the GAO's legal experts interpreted the Executive's authority as follows:

1. The Department of Defense or any of ten other executive departments may designate *any* company "essential to the national defense." It is important to note that the *company* receives the "essential" designation, not the company's products or the instant contract.
2. Firms designated "essential" may then be given contracts, modifications to contracts and funds with or without consideration. This can be done, according to the GAO, without regard to other laws or restrictions except for a few minor ones such as prohibitions against cost-plus-percentage-of-cost contracts.
3. Determinations of essentiality and subsequent contracts or grants do not require justification, and are not subject to challenge.

Under the GAO interpretation of the bailout law, the Executive has the unilateral and unchallengeable power to bestow privileged status on any firm whatsoever. Now you

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UPI

The Man Who Blew the Whistle

A. ERNEST FITZGERALD'S EXtraordinary battle with the Pentagon began on November 13, 1968, when the soft-spoken weapons-cost analyst from Alabama revealed in congressional testimony what was common knowledge in the defense community: that the Lockheed C5A transport plane would cost around $2 billion more than originally estimated.

The impact of Fitzgerald's statement was tremendous. The C5A was not only the biggest single defense contract ever granted, but it was also supposed to be the showpiece of the Pentagon's new efficiency regime. Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford announced to a staff meeting after the overrun disclosure that he was "very displeased with Mr. Fitzgerald." Air Force Secretary Harold Brown called Fitzgerald into his office and told him, "You're a damn poor congressional witness." On November 25, Fitzgerald received a "Notification of Personnel Action." Routinely given job tenure eight weeks previously, he was now told that the tenure decision had been a computer error–the first such error in Air Force history.

In 1969, when Melvin Laird replaced Clifford and Robert Seamans, Jr, replaced Harold Brown, things got even worse for the outspoken analyst. In May, Seamans publicly accused Fitzgerald of illegally releasing classified documents. That same month, the Air Force Office of Special Investigations began looking for irregularities in Fitzgerald's sex life and drinking habits (they found nothing).

Tension inside the Pentagon continued to mount. The Air Force inadvertently revealed that it had lied about the C5A's troubles in order to protect Lockheed's position in the stock market. Fitzgerald himself made several more congressional appearances. An attempt by his superiors to muzzle him backfired when he revealed his orders to an outraged congressional committee. On June 11, he was summoned to a meeting with Laird and Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard, and was told he would be moved out of the Air Force. Then, in November 1969, Fitzgerald was fired.

Senator William Proxmire, to whom Fitzgerald had first revealed the C5A overruns, convened a hearing to inquire into the dismissal. The Air Force claimed that Fitzgerald's job had been eliminated as an economy move. Proxmire cited the law forbidding retaliations against congressional witnesses and declared, "We know a crime has been committed. The provisions of this statute have been clearly violated."

By December, the Fitzgerald affair had reached the White House. Sixty congressmen signed a letter to the President protesting Fitzgerald's dismissal. Clark Mollenhoff, then a Presidential advisor, reviewed the case and wrote Nixon, "the Fitzgerald case is untenable." He advised that the man be allowed to keep his job. But White House aide Alexander Butterfield, who was later to let slip the existence of Nixon's tape collection, disagreed. Butterfield wrote in a memo to Haldeman, "Fitzgerald is no doubt a top-notch cost expert, but he must be given very low marks in loyalty, and after all, loyalty is the name of the game." He added, "We should let him bleed for a while, at least. Any rush to pick him up and put him back on the federal payroll would be tantamount to an admission of earlier wrongdoing on our part." Butterfield's advice carried the day, and in January 1970 Fitzgerald left the Pentagon. He began an appeals process that was to take years before it yielded even partial results.

The Civil Service Commission hearing finally began in May 1971, behind locked doors. After three days, Fitzgerald and his lawyer decided to go to court to compel the Commission to open up the hearing. Fitzgerald quickly got a ruling in his favor, but the government decided to appeal, which took another year. Meanwhile, Fitzgerald went to work as a consultant for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress and for Congressman Jerome Waldie of California.

In late 1972, the Court of Appeals ruled in Fitzgerald's favor, overturning the Civil Service policy of holding closed review hearings. In January of 1973 an open hearing began, and a new controversy developed. When Air Force Secretary Seamans was asked about his contacts with the White House on the Fitzgerald matter, he invoked executive privilege.

The next day, President Nixon held a press conference at which former aide Clark Mollenhoff, now back with the *Des Moines Register,* pressed Nixon on Seaman's use of executive privilege. Did that mean that Seamans had talked to Nixon personally about Fitzgerald? After trying to evade the issue, Nixon blurted out: "I was totally aware that Mr. Fitzgerald would be fired or discharged or asked to resign. . . . This was not a case of someone down the line deciding he should go. It was a decision that was submitted to me. I made it and I stick by it."

Nixon's remark was disastrous. He had managed to destroy the contention that the Air Force had been stubbornly defending for the past three years, that Fitzgerald was not fired but simply phased out by budgetary considerations. The next day, Ronald Ziegler announced that Nixon "simply misspoke himself" in replying to Mollenhoff. "The President did not have put before him the decision regarding Mr. Fitzgerald." But documents produced by Mollenhoff indicate otherwise. And two other witnesses at Fitzgerald's Civil Service hearings subsequently invoked executive privilege.

In September of last year, in an ambiguous and reluctant action, the Civil Service Commission at last ruled that Fitzgerald must be reinstated at the Pentagon with back pay, but did so in a way that failed to fully vindicate him. The Commission's decision also tried to take the Nixon Administration off the hook for retaliating against a congressional witness. Now back at the Pentagon, Fitzgerald has been given a lesser job than before and still has not collected that back pay. His lawyers are pursuing both matters, and are also suing the government for legal fees and damages. Fitzgerald has changed a great deal since the days he took a pay cut to work for the Pentagon because he admired McNamara's "tough talk" about cost cutting. But such institutions as Lockheed and the Pentagon haven't changed a bit.

–T.Z.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

probably didn't hear much about this aspect of the Lockheed bailout, even if you followed the Robbery closely in the papers. Most taxpaying serfs believe to this day that Lockheed was bailed out by a $250 million loan. This was indeed a part of the bailout, but a minor part of the total package. The noisy and impassioned public debate of the $250 million Lockheed loan was employed brilliantly by Lockheed and its agents in Government as a smokescreen to cover the really big-time raids on the public treasury.

Lockheed was pictured as a helpless and undeserving victim of harsh Pentagon contracting and the bankruptcy of Rolls-Royce, its partner in the L-1011 airbus project. In fact, Lockheed had lost nothing at all out of pocket as a result of its Pentagon contract fiascos. So far as could be determined by Senator Proxmire's staff, it was getting paid right along for its cost overruns—illegally, some of us thought. Moreover, the L-1011 airbus was known to be in deep trouble for many months before the Rolls-Royce bankruptcy. In fact, the Pentagon set up a staff of financial and contractual experts to work on Lockheed's L-1011 *commercial* project in the spring of 1970. On May 18, 1970, assistant secretaries of defense Robert Moot and Barry Shillito admitted to Senator Proxmire that Lockheed and its United States subcontractors stood to lose at least $700 million on their commercial airbus program if they weren't bailed out. The Rolls-Royce bankruptcy didn't occur until February 1971, and the public brouhaha over the $250 million loan broke with full force in May of 1971. By then potential L-1011 losses had grown to $1.4 billion.

These facts, inconvenient for the Lockheed advocates, were generally ignored by the sympathetic business press. And, for one reason or another, the actual multibillion dollar bailouts of Lockheed's *military* programs were almost totally ignored by all the big-time news media. In a report dated July 2, 1971, the staff of the House Banking and Currency Committee estimated that Federal aid to Lockheed—contract overrun bailouts, loan guarantees and all—"could amount to approximately $3 billion."

Lockheed's contract bailouts were proceeding apace while public, press and congressional attention was focused on the $250 million loan fracas. Contracts for the C5A, the SRAM rocket motors and the Cheyenne helicopter were "restructured" and the shipbuilding programs changed to protect Lockheed from the full consequences of its own incompetence. David Packard, a multi-millionaire military contractor then serving as deputy secretary of defense, masterminded the deals. Even while he was opening the money sack at both ends for his old buddies at Lockheed, Packard gained a reputation as a strict steward of the public purse by his iron-jawed denunciations of Lockheed. Packard proved himself a master at the political principle of reversal: that is, loudly advocating a course polar to his own actions.

The House Banking and Currency Committee staff report could have given the public a glimpse of things to come, if its report had been widely disseminated. The Banking Committee staff, superb diggers of facts directed by Chairman Wright Patman, unearthed the secret agreement with the British government, by then Rolls-Royce's patron, to guarantee Lockheed's corporate welfare at least while the L-1011 airbus project lasted. The Banking Committee staff was fully aware of the primary source of Lockheed's sustenance. "Since the success of the Lockheed loan depends on new military contracts," they wrote, "The Government will obviously be under enormous pressure, should the need arise, to provide Lockheed with contracts under highly preferential treatment . . ." They went on to comment further on the probable necessity to pump more military contract money into the sagging Lockheed carcass:

> *It means that whether* the Government *is forced to pay the $250 million, plus interest, will depend on* the Government. *Once any Administration is in the position where the failure to grant Lockheed some additional billions of dollars of defense contracts will force the Government to pay out the $250 million guaranteed, the pressures to grant Lockheed preferential treatment in defense contracts will obviously be enormous. In the past, the Defense Department has often allocated contracts for other than reasons of pure economic efficiency.*

When this prediction was made in 1971, Lockheed was supreme among cost overrunners. It had a near-perfect record in exceeding original contract costs. It was also the largest "defense" contractor. Despite, or perhaps because of, its dismal performance, Lockheed was still number one in 1973 (the last year for which complete figures are available). In 1971 Lockheed projected 1973 sales to the Pentagon of $1.35 billion. Both Packard and Treasury Secretary John Connally thought this was too high, estimating that Lockheed's Pentagon sales would be 30 percent lower, or $946 million, in 1973. Based on the first nine months of 1973, Lockheed reports indicate that their Pentagon sales will be more than $1.6 billion for the full year. That's about 18 percent above Lockheed's own "optimistic" forecast and a whopping 69 percent higher than Administration estimates.

How about profits? Lockheed had forecast it would lose $41.5 million on the L-1011 airbus program in 1972. It reported actual losses of $80.5 million on the L-1011 for that year, but operating profits on other business, mostly with the government, were a handsome $155.7 million, $30.5 million more than Lockheed's own fond hopes. Congressman William Moorhead neatly summarized the Great Plane Robbery in a 1971 press release: ". . . one has to admire Daniel Haughton, Chairman of the Board of Lockheed, who, by sheer guts and bailing wire, has kept his group of incompetents afloat by intimidating the Federal Government with threats of corporate suicide and then walking out with the taxpayers' money."

[CORPORATIONS ON WELFARE]

Lockheed didn't invent boondoggling, of course, nor was it the first to use economic threats to avoid paying for its own boneheaded blunders. Its leadership in obtaining corporate welfare was demonstrated by showing that such capers could be pulled off on a really grand scale. Even so, if the terrible mistakes in handling the Lockheed fiasco had been limited to just one company, the long-term damage might have been contained. But it wasn't.

(*Continued on page 57*)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chile: Can the Junta Rule?

Santiago, September 1973—The four members of the Junta. At center, saluting, from left to right: Air Force General Gustavo Leigh, Army Commander Augusto Pinochet, Admiral Jose Torribio, and Infantry Commander Cezar Mendoza.

Chas Gerretsen/Gamma

by Richard Pierson

The morning Chilean army tanks began their assault on the Presidential Palace in downtown Santiago, I watched while a crowd of curious Chileans gathered. They lounged around as if awaiting the start of some scheduled TV spectacular, cracking tense jokes, engaging in political arguments, trading stories of earlier experiences in Chile's new spectator sport—political violence. Suddenly, bullets were everywhere and the spectators became participants, racing hysterically for shelter, many failing in the attempt.

The coup was no surprise to the Chilean man-in-the-street, but few could have predicted that the takeover would be the most brutal in the history of the continent. Nor did anyone expect that Chilean political institutions, which had been developed over decades of middle-class rule, would be destroyed within a period of months. The middle classes—shopkeepers, truckers, small industrialists, medium-sized landowners—had hoped for a return to stability and prosperity after the socialist Allende regime was ousted. There had even been talk that a moderate Christian Democratic government under former President Frei would return to power. But, instead, Chile has experienced a violent and total break with its past.

It seems to be the Junta's intention to transform Chile permanently, erasing, as Chilean Air Force General Leigh insisted, "the last 50 years of Chilean history." Politically, the Junta, led by Army Commander Augusto Pinochet, with the commanders of the other armed services and the police, has been consolidating its power. It has publicly blamed the Christian Democrats for contributing to the "destruction of Chile," and has imposed censorship and terror as regular features of Chilean life. All organized political activity, with the exception of that within the Left underground, has come to a halt.

Even those who contemplated a trade-off of political liberty for economic stability have had a rude awakening. The new regime has brought economic disaster to many who thought they had much to gain from the coup. In the months since the military takeover, consumer prices have risen between 200 and 1000 percent. A kilo of bread which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"In the first days after the coup, thousands of corpses passed through the morgues and the crematory ovens or were dumped at sea . . . During the past few months the regime has been experimenting with electro-shock, drugs, and psychological torture."

cost 13 escudos on September 1, 1973, cost 134 escudos on March 1, 1974. A kilo of sugar went from 12 to 280 escudos, a liter of cooking oil from 36 to 550, and a kilo of rice from 15 to 240. The cheapest bus fares rose from 4 to 30 escudos, while landlords freely exceed the officially authorized rent increase of 500 percent over the previous year.

Naturally, the burden has fallen heavily on the people who gained most during the Allende years. But even the middle classes have been badly hurt. Rising costs and restricted credit have caused the number of bankruptcies to skyrocket during the past several months. Christian Democratic farmers, the main beneficiaries of pre-Allende land reforms, have turned against the Junta because their farms have been expropriated and returned to previous owners. Even Leon Vilarin, leader of the anti-Allende truckers' strike which crippled Chile in August, recently has warned that the economic sacrifices being demanded of small businessmen have reached their limit. The civilian coalition which brought the Junta to power now appears to be on the verge of collapse.

[SELECTIVE SLAUGHTER]

In the first days after the coup, thousands of corpses passed through the morgues and the crematory ovens, or were dumped at sea. Others clogged the rivers—each morning you could see them bumping against the banks of the Rio Mapocho in Santiago, the bodies of young men, their clothes betraying their lower-class origins, their hands tied behind their backs with barbed wire, their bodies frequently riddled with bullets or their heads shot away by machine-gun bursts. How many were killed, we will probably never know. Shocked (and sometimes proud) army officers, however, talked of numbers which never went below 20,000.

But now indiscriminate killings and mass arrests have given way to what one Chilean military man called, "the phase of selective slaughter." No longer are the top leaders of the Allende government or the Unidad Popular (Popular Front) sought—they are either under arrest, underground, safely abroad, in embassy asylum in Santiago, or already dead. Nor are the Allende supporters or Chilean leftists the current targets. Instead, the Junta is rounding up the more vocal leaders of political clubs, women's and youth groups, and professional organizations. Middle- and working-class people—a doctor who worked in a shantytown health clinic, a lawyer who led a local political club, a worker who had been elected to the administrative council of a nationalized factory—these are the recent victims, and they span the political spectrum from Left to Center.

Other current targets are those thought to be opinion-makers—journalists, intellectuals, teachers—and professionals. In the past few weeks a number of Christian Democrats (whose support on September 11 was indispensable) have been arrested, particularly the Party's local labor and student leaders.

The Junta admits to holding over 5,000 political prisoners, and the true figure may be closer to 10,000. Since September 11, however, as many as 35,000 Chileans and foreigners have been detained, interrogated, and frequently tortured. Most of these prisoners are being held without charges or legal counsel in camps such as Dawson Island in the frozen Antarctic, where top leaders of the Unidad Popular government are interned, or Chacabuco, an abandoned nitrate mine in the world's driest desert.

During the past few months the regime has been experimenting with electro-shock, drug, and psychological torture. Instead of summary executions, prisoners are given a military trial (often without benefit of legal counsel) for deeds that were not crimes when allegedly committed. Acquittals can be overturned by the local military commander. And the Junta has recently announced a series of "treason trials" for political leaders of the Allende government. Their outcomes are, of course, a foregone conclusion.

Neighborhood councils, labor unions, women's groups, student associations, professional organizations, even sporting clubs, have all been subjected to the close scrutiny, "restructuring," and control by the Chilean military. No organization of any type may elect its leaders—the military fills all vacancies by appointment. Only the Catholic Church retains a certain degree of autonomy—partly a result of the Junta's failure to force the replacement of Cardinal Silva Henriquez by a rightist more to its liking—but its voice has been largely silenced in the compromise.

More than half of the national newspapers have been banned or suspended, and those few remaining—along with books, magazines, radio, television, movies and records—are being heavily censored. Book burning in libraries continues. Education is being "restructured," so as to eliminate "subversive" disciplines such as sociology and "dangerous" subjects, such as the French Revolution. The universities are being purged of both professors and students who are considered to have leftist viewpoints. The aim is thought control, candidly described by the military as *limpieza de cabezas*—which best translates as "brainwashing."

[BACK TO BREAD AND TEA]

Apparently the Junta hopes to repeat the "Brazilian Miracle" in Chile. On this model, foreign investment would pour in on an unprecedented scale in return for economic and political guarantees, thus producing rapid economic growth. With this in mind, the Junta has laid a heavy hand on the Chilean economy, eliminating price controls and subsidies for consumer goods—policies which date back to the Popular Front government of the 1930s. Collective bargaining is now prohibited and wages remain under governmental controls.

The Junta is returning almost all nationalized property to former owners, while factories, banks, and many farms redistributed by Allende and previous regimes, are being

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

returned to private hands. Foreign investors, mostly U.S.-based multinationals, are either recovering their properties or receiving compensation. It is not yet clear how great a role U.S. corporations will play in the Chilean economy. It seems unlikely that the copper mines will be returned to Kennecott and Anaconda, although the Junta claims that some sort of compensation agreement is near. One smaller U.S. company, the Cerro Corporation, has already received $42 million for its mine. Dow Chemical's two plastics plants near Concepción have been returned, but the disposition of ITT's nationalized properties is still being discussed.

Not surprisingly, the Junta has increased military expenditures. Informed Treasury sources have leaked the news that a whopping 45 percent of the Junta's 1974 budget will go for military expenditures, instead of the less than 10 percent under Allende. A large portion of these funds will be spent on arms, but the budget also includes wage increases for the military sufficient to maintain their recently acquired standing as the only wage earners whose salaries are outpacing runaway inflation. The officer in a new Mercedes is a common Santiago sight, and the captain's wife in the family's *second* car symbolizes the new military affluence in a country where one car is a luxury and everyone else is being called upon to make "sacrifices for the national reconstruction."

When it took power six months ago, the Junta promised to maintain the social and economic gains of the workers, but today little remains of the benefits won through years of struggle. In factories where workers have staged work stoppages or verbally protested starvation wages, their leaders have been taken away by military intelligence and rarely returned. In the port of San Antonio, leaders of the longshoremen's union were shot in front of the workers who had elected them. Moreover, a new decree regulating union activity calls for the replacement of democracy by gerentocracy in the choosing of union officers. Where vacancies occur, the oldest worker will automatically become the union leader, which allows owners to control the unions through simple hiring and firing.

The combination of tightly controlled wages and the uncontrolled price increases has meant a dramatically sudden drop in the standard of living of Chilean workers since last September. Even the Junta's statistics lead to the conclusion that the buying power of Chilean workers has fallen to one half of what it was under Allende. This means a drop in mass living standards worse even than the Great Depression, which struck Chile harder than any other country in the hemisphere. Many working class families, which under the Allende government had gained the "privilege" of eating butter, eggs and milk, have been forced back down to a basic diet of bread and tea. One-third of the standard monthly wage of 18,000 escudos would be taken up in the purchase of a daily kilo of bread plus a round-trip to work on the bus each day. Workers talk of spending between 40 and 50 percent of their income on nothing but bread for their families.

For a large percentage of the population the situation is more desperate. Firings for political or economic reasons have left some 20 percent of the work force without a job—the figure had been less than 4 percent under Allende.

"Even those who contemplated a trade-off of political liberty for economic stability have a rude awakening... The civilian coalition which brought the Junta to power now appears to be on the verge of collapse."

Informed military sources estimate that about 100,000 Chileans have been fired for their political beliefs since September 11. In nationalized factories, some 10-20 percent of the work force has been purged and the percentage is even higher in public administration. Those fired have been blacklisted and generally cannot find other jobs.

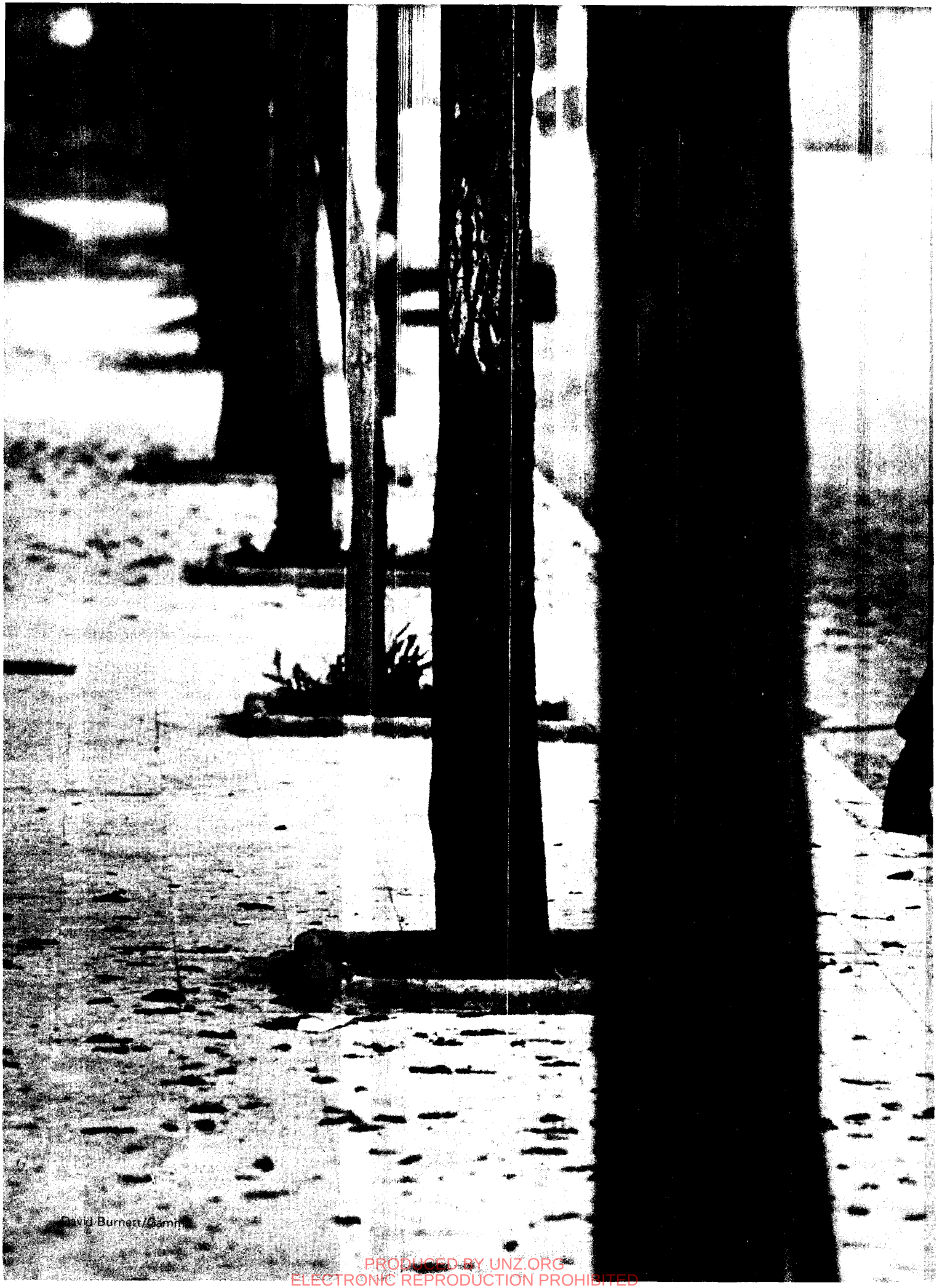
The result of this situation, however, has spread well beyond the working class. The drastic drop in consumer buying power has produced stagflation—inflation with recession—which has hit the anti-Allende middle class particularly hard. Small businessmen find themselves caught between increasing production costs and decreasing demand, hence the accelerating bankruptcy rate. In the long run the squeezing out of small businesses may help the larger, more centralized companies, but at present even big business is being hurt by the Junta's policies. When the Junta decided to allow more cheap imports into the country in an attempt to stem inflation, Orlando Saenz, the head of the Chilean National Association of Manufacturers (SOFOFA), resigned in protest.

[WINTER OF DISCONTENT]

The Junta, which may have commanded the support of half the population on September 11th, probably has the allegiance of no more than a quarter of Chile today. In addition to the large bourgeoisie, its domestic civilian support is restricted to certain sectors of the middle-class professionals and white-collar workers, who turned against Allende because they saw their privileged status and life styles threatened. In the short run they justify their continued support for the Junta with selective vision and strange logic—"Things have returned to normal"; "If we had the money, we could buy anything we wanted"; "At least we have social peace and political tranquility"; "The reports of repression are greatly exaggerated"; and so on. But if the money to buy the goods in the shop windows doesn't materialize, if the peace and tranquillity disintegrate into a guerrilla resistance, if the Junta's economic policy continues to decay, support is likely to fade.

To this growing economic discontent must be added the almost total absence of organized political support for the Junta. All political activity has been suspended, including that of the parties which supported the coup. The Junta has refused to let prominent opposition leaders participate in the new government, alienating many of its former supporters such as Francisco Bulnes (Senate leader of the right wing National Party) and Patricio Aylwin (president of the centrist Christian Democrats). Recent reports even talk of a split in the National Party into pro- and anti-Junta sectors.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



David Burnett/Gamma

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is the Christian Democrats, the swing party of Chilean politics, however, which is most threatened—it cannot act clandestinely (like the Left) nor is it getting much of a role or influence in the government (like members of rightist groups). In addition, it is being tarred abroad for its complicity in the coup and beginning to be hit at home by the repression. All this produced a series of inconclusive exchanges between the Christian Democratic hierarchy and the Junta, until, finally, the Christian Democrats sent a letter which accused the Junta of going "too far." The Junta reply came in the March 11 declaration celebrating the six-month anniversary of the coup. In it the Junta accused the Christian Democrats of being jointly responsible with the Marxist parties for the "destruction of Chile." "After all," said one army officer, "the Christian Democrats are just *communistas blancos* [white communists]."

Recent reports from Argentina indicate that the Christian Democrats and the Left are discussing the formation of a national democratic front. While veteran political observers view these talks with skepticism, they do reflect the extent of the drift into opposition of the Christian Democrats and their mostly middle-class popular base, as the Junta finds itself without strong civilian support to face a resistance movement. But the two groups most capable of leading a successful underground resistance—the MIR and the Communists—are essentially intact, despite the ferocity of the coup and the repression following it. Seeing the handwriting on the wall, the MIR had gone underground weeks before. And the Communists had prepared a parallel leadership and underground structure which went into effect the day of the coup. The Socialist Party, which has been hit hardest by the coup, survives in many areas. However, most observers feel that nothing is likely to happen before the Chilean winter, when the worsening economic crisis will cause popular support for the government to reach its low point.

[GROWING ISOLATION]

Although the Chilean Junta has been counting on outside assistance to solve the short-term economic crisis, it is faced with lessening international support. Not only have the military's atrocities made enemies in Western Europe, culminating in the recent British decision to cut off all aid to Chile, but blatant violations of human rights have made it both embarrassing and politically difficult for Washington to give the Junta as much aid as it needs. Many people abroad who would have gladly aided a Christian Democratic regime are wary of the present government.

The initial expectations of $1 billion in U.S. aid have not been met, and it is unlikely that the Junta will receive the promised trade credits if conditions in Chile do not change. The U.S. is now willing to sell to Chile (which it had refused to do under Allende), but there are increasing indications that no special favors will be granted. Chile must now meet the international competition for the scarce resources of wheat and petroleum, currently the most critical shortages. Two weeks after the coup the U.S. Department of Agriculture gave the Junta a $21 million credit for wheat and this was followed by a similar credit for feed grain. According to U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Butz, these credits had been withheld for "national security" reasons. "The Allende government was not friendly," Butz said. "It was essentially a diplomatic decision." But now the word is out that no more such gestures will be forthcoming.

The Junta itself seems worried about the situation. A January statement published in the right-wing daily *El Mercurio* quotes a top member of the Junta as saying, "Those who thought that military rule would be sufficient to bring spare parts, new investment and price stability were very far from the truth." But the Junta has few choices but to hold fast in the face of deepening economic crisis and mounting political discontent. If the Junta's economic policy fails, if the foreign capital fails to flow, and if the resistance begins to take its toll of military lives, the divisions within the Chilean armed forces are likely to surface and the military will begin fighting among themselves.

Institutional rivalries between the services have always been acute and are reinforced by social differentiation—the Navy and Air Force being more upper class in their background and orientation than the Army and the National Police, which recruit from the lower social strata. The Navy and the Air Force also have stronger ties with the U.S. than do the other services. Within the services, personal ambitions are coming into conflict in the jockeying for new governmental power positions. Moreover, there are political tensions between the "hardliners" and the "moderates"; this is a particularly serious problem in the Army, but also troubles the National Police, whose *carabineros* bear the cost of the repression in terms of casualties. Also, the *carabineros*' low status and class background make their loyalty to the regime questionable.

In the short run, the military may succeed in consolidating a "center" position within the rightist military spectrum, which is probably what was intended by the recent retirements of the most right-wing army general (Torres de la Cruz) and the most leftist general (Urbina). Beyond that, the future for both the regime and the resistance is clouded. For the regime, the questions are whether it can stabilize the economic situation and maintain at least a minimum base of support; whether it can maintain unity within its own ranks; whether it can attract foreign investment; and, if the crunch comes, how much and what kind of support it can receive from the outside. For the resistance the question is whether it can organize a long-term, broad-based movement, with the support, or at least the sympathetic neutrality, of the middle classes that opposed the Allende regime.

In Chile these days, everyone talks about what "the winter" will bring. By the winter's end—our autumn—we may know whether Chile will become, as Socialist leader Carlos Altamirano predicted, a "Vietnam Heroico." In Chile, as nowhere else in Latin America, this is a real possibility.

Richard Pierson is a freelance writer who lived in Santiago, Chile between March 1972 and March of this year.
Pictures used are from Chile, *a photographic essay by staff photographers of GAMMA Press Agency, to be published this year in the U.S.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

[Comment]

Watergate and Other Crimes

"The wide-ranging counterattack against Nixon is an effort to restore the familiar system in which the wealthy and the privileged control American politics. In several ways, Nixon threatened this system. For this transgression, he must pay a price."

In January 1969, as Richard Nixon began his first term as Chief Executive, the American war in South Vietnam was raging in full fury. U.S. troops were again seeking to "pacify" the countryside after their devastating defeat in the Tet offensive of early 1968. The bombing of North Vietnam had temporarily ceased. Laos was suffering intense bombardment, though that secret was well kept here. Cambodia, however, remained an island of relative peace and tranquillity. American bombardment and ground operations in South Vietnam during 1967 had driven many Vietnamese from their homes to seek refuge across the border, but these "Communist sanctuaries" of cynical propaganda extended only a few miles into Cambodian territory. American bombing of Cambodia, also officially denied, remained relatively limited.

The intentions of the new Commander-in-Chief were made clear at once. By March, bombing tonnage in Southeast Asia had reached the highest level of the entire war. In the same month, a program of regular bombardment of neutral Cambodia was initiated, to be continued in secret until the outright American invasion in April 1970. Information as to the scale and extent of this program is only now being released, largely as a result of the efforts of Senator Harold Hughes.

Nixon stepped up the bombing of Laos as well. By the end of this first year, much of Northern Laos had been devastated and the largely rural population of the Plain of Jars evacuated to refugee camps. These operations had little to do with prosecuting the American war in Vietnam. They were an effort to destroy a popular movement of social

by Noam Chomsky

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

revolution in a country regarded as being of some strategic importance.

In South Vietnam, the new Administration at once initiated operations of unparalleled savagery. Operation "Speedy Express" in the Mekong Delta province of Kien Hoa allegedly pacified 120,000 people in early 1969, including 11,000 of the enemy who were permanently pacified, over 3,000 in the grim month of March alone. Altogether, 748 weapons were found, "suggesting the possibility that many of the killed are unarmed porters or bystanders," as Robert McNamara expressed it, rather diffidently, on another occasion. This six-month operation has been investigated in detail by *Newsweek* Southeast Asia correspondent Kevin Buckley, who reports that "the fabric of society long established by the NLF was destroyed." Villages were wiped out and productive land devastated. "The death toll there made the My Lai massacre look trifling by comparison." Farther north, the largest American amphibious operation since World War II—"Bold Mariner"—was launched in the Batangan peninsula, long a "free-fire" zone. The entire population was forcibly removed and the land destroyed by bombardment and Rome plows. Dikes were bombed so that sea water would destroy the rice paddies. Then, 4,000 of the 12,000 civilians were returned, to starve in the camps to which they were restricted by force. As of April 1971, the dikes had not been rebuilt, no doubt because "the people of the peninsula were written off as communists," in the words of one American official.[1]

I will not recount here the further exploits of Richard Nixon and his renowned foreign policy adviser, culminating in the incident that Nixon seems to regard as the crowning jewel of his first term in office, the Christmas bombings of 1972—a last vain effort to terrorize the North Vietnamese into modifying the cease-fire proposals that they had offered. It was only after the defeat of this operation that Nixon formally agreed to the North Vietnamese proposals, while making it quite clear that the United States would continue to subvert the agreements in every feasible way, as it has done since the Paris Agreements were signed in January 1973. Meanwhile, a regime of torturers survives in Saigon with massive American support, blocking every possible path to political resolution of the conflict, for reasons that are not difficult to discern. The war in Cambodia tears that tortured country to shreds; with both sides supplied with American arms, the Phnom Penh regime is a shell that would quickly collapse without massive American aid.

For a year, the major preoccupation of the mass media in the United States has been Watergate. Public attention is focused on one crucial question: has the President committed high crimes and misdemeanors of a sort that would justify impeachment or forced resignation? By any rational standards, the question is ludicrous. Richard Nixon is one of the major criminals of the Twentieth Century, and the same is true of those who have designed and implemented the foreign policy of his Administration. The serious question is not whether the President and his advisers are guilty of major crimes. Rather, the question is whether the American system of law, as currently interpreted by Congress and the Courts, is so absurd that criminal acts of the highest magnitude are not to be considered violations of law in the technical sense.

But this question has already received its answer. There is no possibility that the President will be impeached, let alone tried for war crimes, on grounds of his criminal actions in Indochina. It has always been obvious that the Judgments of Nuremberg and Tokyo were mere farce, and that apart from defeated nations, any political or military leadership will be exempt from prosecution for crimes committed for reasons of state.

[NIXON'S "FATAL FLAW"]

Let's consider, then, the abuses that have so outraged liberal American opinion and evoked a groundswell of agitation for impeachment. Former Attorney General Elliot Richardson explained the central issue succinctly in a Boston press conference, not long after the "Saturday night massacre." The "fatal flaw" of the Nixon Administration, he observed, has been "the proclivity of the White House to perceive critics and opposition as 'enemies,' and the willingness to 'adopt tactics used against an enemy' in handling such criticism."[2] As Hans Morgenthau put it, the Nixon Administration has "attacked American democracy directly by depriving the minority of a chance to compete on approximately equal terms with the majority" and has thus taken a long step toward totalitarianism.[3]

The minority to which Morgenthau refers is the Democratic Party opposition. The critics and opposition who have been unfairly treated as "enemies" and subjected to unfair tactics are those who belong to the political center, men who are expected, in the normal course of affairs, to share in the exercise of power. The Dean-Colson "enemies list," which included such enemies of the state as Thomas Watson of IBM, Edwin Land of Polaroid, James Reston and McGeorge Bundy, symbolizes this "fatal flaw" of the Nixon Administration. Not surprisingly, there is a bipartisan counterattack against a man who has so infamously broken the rules of the political game.

Perhaps the most extreme indication of the criminal mentality of the Administration, from this perspective, is the aborted Huston Plan of June 1970, which called for strictly illegal acts against those designated as enemies of the state: surreptitious entry, tampering with the mails, and so on. It also called for expansion of "legal" efforts, such as FBI operations on university campuses. This plan, as is well known, though approved by Nixon, was blocked by the renowned civil libertarian J. Edgar Hoover, much to the annoyance of the Administration. One of the best of the recent studies of Watergate reports:

> *The demise of the Huston plan made it clear to Nixon's men that as long as Hoover remained in charge of the FBI, it was going to concentrate on its traditional targets—card-carrying Communists and Mafia gangsters. The so-called "student revolution," which obsessed the White House, was not being taken seriously enough. Hoover has, since his death, been criticized for his apparently callous disregard for the threat posed by the youthful New Left.*[4]

This interpretation of the role of the FBI was not easy to sustain in the light of what was known even then of FBI activities. It was, for example, hardly consistent with the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Has the President committed high crimes and misdemeanors of a sort that would justify impeachment or forced resignation? By any rational standards, the question is ludicrous. Richard Nixon is one of the major criminals of the Twentieth Century."

one bit of solid evidence available as to the allocation of FBI efforts--namely, the "Media files" taken from the Media, Pennsylvania, office of the FBI in March 1971 by a group calling itself "the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI." According to its analysis of the documents in this FBI office, 1 percent were devoted to organized crime, mostly gambling; 30 percent were "manuals, routine forms, and similar procedural matter"; 40 percent were devoted to political surveillance and the like, including two cases involving right-wing groups, ten concerning immigrants, and over 200 on Left or liberal groups. Another 14 percent of the documents concerned draft resistance and "leaving the military without government permission." The remainder concerned bank robberies, murder, rape, and interstate theft.[5]

But whatever credibility the earlier quoted characterization of the FBI gave it as guarantor of investigative scruples should have been shattered by the release on December 6, 1973, by court order, of the documents headed "Disruption of the New Left."[6] The documents include a memorandum by Hoover, dated May 1968, which announced the COINTELPRO program, which had the following purpose: "to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents." Agents were instructed to conduct continuous surveillance of such groups, and it is also "imperative," Hoover ordered, to

> *inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. . . . We must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents. In every instance, consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups, and no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership.*

A memorandum of May 9, 1968 from C. D. Brennan elaborates the motivation for this program:

> *Our Nation is undergoing an era of disruption and violence caused to a large extent by various individuals generally connected with the New Left. Some of these activists urge revolution in America and call for the defeat of the United States in Vietnam. They continually and falsely allege police brutality and do not hesitate to utilize unlawful acts to further their so-called causes. The New Left has on many occasions viciously and scurrilously attacked the Director and the Bureau in an attempt to hamper our investigation of it and to drive us off the college campuses. With this in mind, it is our recommendation that a new Counterintelligence Program be designed to neutralize the New Left and the Key activists. . . .*

The program was initiated in May 1968, shortly after the Columbia strike, seven months after the Pentagon demonstration in which, as the Pentagon Papers relate, "the sight of thousands of peaceful demonstrators being confronted by troops in battle gear cannot have been reassuring to the country as a whole nor to the President in particular." COINTELPRO was canceled in September 1971, three days after House Majority Leader Hale Boggs accused Hoover of tapping his phone and employing "secret police tactics." Boggs accused the FBI of infiltrating college campuses, labor unions, black organizations and church groups.[7] The threat of exposure, coupled with the Media revelations, were probably the cause for the abrupt cancellation of COINTELPRO.

One of the programs incorporated within this framework was the "SWP Disruption Program" [SWP = Socialist Workers Party—Eds.], which had in fact been in operation since 1961. Another recently released memorandum, dating back to October 12, 1961, laid out the basis for this SWP program. It notes that the Party had been "openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems . . . in the South." The memorandum went on to say: "It is felt that a disruption program . . . could be initiated against the SWP . . ."[8] as indeed it was. One may compare the reasons advanced for initiating this disruption program with the crimes later cited in the Brennan memorandum to justify COINTELPRO: advocacy of revolution and defeat of the United States in Vietnam, allegations of police brutality and attacks on His Majesty the Director, attempts to drive the FBI off the college campuses.

COINTELPRO also seems to have incorporated the "Racial Intelligence" program directed against "Black Nationalist-Hate groups," initiated in a memorandum of August 25, 1967. This program had as its purpose "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder." In this case too, agents were instructed "to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant." The goal was to "frustrate" efforts of these groups to "consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents" and to exploit and exacerbate internal and intergroup conflicts. Agents were directed to use "established local news media contacts" and other "sources available to the Seat of Government" to "disrupt or neutralize" these organizations. The "targeted group" must be "disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity . . ." "Consideration should be given to techniques to preclude

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

violence-prone or rabble-rouser leaders of hate groups from spreading their philosophy publicly or through various mass communication media."

A memorandum of March 4, 1968, gives some examples of procedures that "had been effective" prior to issuance of the August 1967 memorandum. In one case, "a new (censored) grade school" was harassed, and "(censored) obtained background information on the parents of each pupil"—to what end, we can only surmise. In another case, "(censored) alerted local police" to a group active in the summer of 1967. The police then arrested its leaders "on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result, (censored) leaders spent most of the summer in jail and no violence traceable to (censored) took place."

Among the "long-range goals" of the disruption program were the following: "Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups," for unity might be "the beginning of a true black revolution"; "pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence"; "prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining *respectability*, by discrediting them to . . . the responsible Negro community . . . [and] Negro radicals," and also discrediting them "to the white community, both the responsible community and to 'liberals' who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalists simply because they are Negroes . . ." A "final goal" is "to prevent the long-range *growth*" of these organizations, "especially among youth." "Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed."

Other documents describe a variety of devices to "disrupt and confuse Panther activities": fabrication of documents, "ridiculing or discrediting Panther leaders," "promoting factionalism among [Black Panther Party] members," etc. In a discussion of the need to "Prevent the *rise of a 'messiah'* who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement," there are censored references to (presumably) Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. The document also warns of another person (name censored) who might "be a very real contender" for a position of leadership "should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to 'white, liberal doctrines' (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism."

Throughout the series of memoranda, it is taken for granted that the political police have the authority to suppress dissent, disrupt organizations and undermine their leadership, foment conflicts, "neutralize" potential activists by deceit, ridicule, fraudulent arrest, or other means to be developed under the "enthusiastic and imaginative approach" that agents are "urged to take . . . to this new counter-intelligence endeavor." The model is the successful disruption of the Communist Party. A hint of further possibilities appears in the distinction between the "responsible" white community and those "liberals" with "vestiges of sympathy" for black nationalists.

The scale of the operations undertaken under COINTELPRO remains unknown. There is evidence that the efforts to "disrupt the New Left" reached the level of attempted murder. An FBI informer-provocateur, David Sannes, revealed in Seattle that he had been instructed to booby-trap a bomb so as to kill those who placed it. This was too much for him, and he exposed this escapade.[9] In a suit filed naming Nixon and others as defendants, attorneys for the SWP list burglaries, attacks on SWP offices to terrorize campaign workers (in one case, by men armed with machine guns), bombing and burning of offices, wiretapping, mail tampering and other forms of harassment.[10] To take a case of another sort, virtually at random, the Alabama branch of the ACLU argued in court that in May 1970, an FBI agent "committed arson and other violence that police used as a reason for declaring that university students were unlawfully assembled"[11]—150 students were arrested. The Court ruled, in this case, that the agent's role was irrelevant unless the defense could establish that the agent was instructed to commit the violent acts, but this was impossible, according to the ACLU attorney, since the FBI and police thwarted his efforts to locate the agent who had admitted the acts to him. Further questions are naturally raised by the recent revelation that when Fred Hampton was assassinated by Chicago police, possibly after having been drugged, one of the Panthers providing "security" was an FBI agent. Every movement activist has memories that will be stirred by the documents that have recently been produced.

We can now, incidentally, understand why Hoover opposed the Huston plan in 1970. He was not motivated, as has been alleged, by a sudden concern for his reputation as a civil libertarian. Rather, it appears, he feared that the Huston plan might have interfered with the far more extensive programs of political repression that the FBI was conducting, or might have led to the exposure of these programs.

The SWP Disruption Program was initiated under the Kennedy Administration. The "Racial Intelligence" Program was put into operation by the Johnson Administration, as was COINTELPRO. It is alleged that Attorney General Ramsey Clark was kept in the dark about COINTELPRO. But one may raise various questions—as Nixon's defenders do—about the responsibility of public officials for actions of subordinates, particularly when these acts are more or less predictable on the basis of the historical record.

[APATHY AND OUTRAGE]

The programs for repression and stifling of political opposition that I have been discussing go far beyond anything revealed in the Watergate investigations. For anyone who is concerned with democratic principles and practice, they are far more significant than the whole collection of Watergate exposures. It is interesting, therefore, to consider the response in the mass media, in particular the liberal press, to the revelation of really significant programs of political repression over many years. There was virtually no response. I have cited two editorial comments (*The Nation*, February 9; *L.A. Times* March 12). No doubt a diligent search would reveal others. COINTELPRO did not come as a complete surprise. It was mentioned in the Media files and had been discussed by a former FBI agent in the *New York Review of Books*, January 27, 1972. Now, however, some initial documentary evidence is available.

The striking and significant fact is that programs of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The public is bombarded with news about the latest tape erasure or tax deceit, but extensive programs of the political police to maintain ideological orthodoxy, substantive moves towards totalitarianism, are unworthy of attention or comment."

political repression put into operation under the most liberal democratic administrations are of almost no concern, in comparison to the much less significant violations of democratic principle under the heading of Watergate. The public is bombarded with news about the latest tape erasure or tax deceit, but extensive programs of the political police to maintain ideological orthodoxy, substantive moves towards totalitarianism, are unworthy of attention or comment.

Returning to the war policy of the Nixon Administration, we find a relevant analogy. When the Hughes investigations in 1973 revealed that Cambodia and Northern Laos had been bombed in secret since 1969, there was much indignation in the press over the fact that the government had lied and suppressed information that the people should know. This reaction was pure hypocrisy. The major news media knew very well since early 1968 that the United States was systematically bombing civilian targets in Northern Laos, remote from any war zone. Eyewitness reports by noncommunist observers had appeared in the world press, and these were specifically brought to the attention of major American daily and weekly news journals. The press chose to suppress this information. In January 1970, an official Cambodian government White Paper appeared, giving details of American bombardment and ground incursions and their lethal effects up to May 1969, with dates, places, and photographs. The international press covered the story. I recall no mention here, though again, the information was readily available. The press simply chose to censor information that contradicted official propaganda. The pattern is a common one. A striking recent example is the collusion of the press in distorting the contents of the Paris Agreements of January 1973 and the events that led to them. I have discussed this matter elsewhere,[12] and will not expand here. Many other examples can be cited.

But we have agreed to put aside consideration of criminal acts committed overseas and to consider only the domestic excesses that are charged to the Nixon Administration. Why, then, should liberal opinion be so outraged by the Watergate exposures, but not by the far more serious COINTELPRO or the earlier SWP and black nationalist disruption programs? The explanation has already been given in the incisive remarks of Elliot Richardson already mentioned. The error of the Nixon Administration was that it concentrated political power too narrowly and attacked the political center with "tactics used against an enemy." Use of these tactics against such enemies as the New Left, the Black Panthers, the SWP, or anyone who departs from the conservative consensus of American political ideology may evoke some clucking of tongues, but the "fatal flaw" is the use of these tactics against men of power. For this crime, Nixon must be brought to heel.

To be sure, Nixon broke the rules in other respects as well. His petty chicanery has demeaned the office of the presidency, and the majesty of the office serves as a powerful technique for ideological control. His miserable efforts to dismantle progressive programs offended bureaucratic interests and led to perfectly justified irritation and protest. But it is difficult to believe that any of this is what threatens to do him in. On the contrary, his major error is surely the "fatal flaw" identified by Richardson.

Nixon has accused his critics of hypocrisy and pursuit of narrow political advantage. There is considerable force to his charge.

The outrage over Watergate can hardly be explained on grounds of commitment to democratic principle or the belief that criminal actions should not go unpunished. That much, I believe, should be evident even from the brief review of relevant issues just sketched. The wide-ranging counterattack against Nixon is an effort to restore the familiar system in which the wealthy and the privileged control American politics. In several ways, Nixon threatened this system. For this transgression, he must pay a price.

[DREAMING OF CAMELOT]

One might place these events in a somewhat different political context. Liberal forces in the United States now sense that the prospects of their return to political power are enhanced. With Nixonian conservatism in disarray, perhaps Camelot can be rebuilt. For segments of the intelligentsia with a taste for rubbing shoulders with the great and powerful, the prospects are particularly attractive. To this end, Watergate can contribute mightily. But barriers still remain.

If Camelot is to be restored, American liberalism will somehow have to regain the sense of moral *élan,* the moral legitimacy that was undermined by Vietnam. This catastrophe is generally regarded, with much justice, as the liberals' war. Hence it will be necessary to reconstruct the history of the 1960s, to create a new past in which every right-thinking soul was against the war from the start. Recriminations are out of place and the whole ugly affair should be quickly forgotten. Of course, the excesses of that part of the peace movement that was actually visible impeded the general effort to bring the war to a quick and honorable end. Had it not been for the misguided, sentimental, violent, totalitarian activist peace movement, we decent liberals could have restored sanity far sooner. But this too can be forgotten as we proceed with the task of reconstructing the political system of the early 1960s.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The fact of the matter is quite different. Until the Tet offensive demonstrated the bankruptcy of American policy, liberal American opinion expressed only the most mild and timid dissent, with some notable and honorable exceptions. The war was regarded as an error, but a noble enterprise to which no right-minded person could object if only American government strategy were to succeed—as appeared increasingly unlikely. But intellectuals are the custodians of history. With the decline of an active protest movement, the revised version of history will become the conventional wisdom, as untroubled by fact as other orthodoxies. For this reason alone, the real crimes of the state, whether in Indochina or at home, must be dismissed, while public attention is diverted to ridiculous escapades of the Watergate variety. Read the morning paper, turn on the six o'clock news, and you'll see that this is exactly what is happening.

It is remarkable to see how quickly the facts fade from memory. To take one of innumerable examples, consider the remarks of George Kennan, reviewing *Gulag Archipelago* in the *New York Review of Books*, March 21, 1974. "The initial reaction to Mr. Solzhenitsyn's account," he writes, "is . . . no small measure of puzzlement over the fact that such things could have taken place in our own time in a country sharing the Christian tradition," a country "with which we fancied ourselves to have in common at least certain standards of decency and humanity that would set us off against our common enemy [Germany in World War II]."

The initial reaction to Kennan's comments can only be amazement. Let us put aside the fact that the worst of the story that Solzhenitsyn recounts was known long ago.[13] More remarkable is the reference to countries "sharing the Christian tradition" and their humanitarian record. Just what does Kennan have in mind? Nazi Germany, which "shared the Christian tradition" no less than Bolshevik Russia? Or perhaps the treatment of Blacks and Indians in Christian America? Or is it some other country sharing the Christian tradition, say, England, which was "furnishing the world with missionary bishops to teach Christianity" while reducing India to penury and starvation,[14] pursuing a policy described in these words by a left-wing spokesman for the Indian Congress Party. "Hitler's depradations, his Dachaus and Belsens, . . . pale into insignificance before this imperialist savagery" of the British who, "in the process of their domination over India, kept no limits to brutality and savagery which man is capable of practising"[15]? Or perhaps Kennan has in mind the American conquest of the Philippines, or the practices of Christian countries such as Belgium and France in Africa.[16]

But what is surely most striking is Kennan's puzzlement that a country we believed shared our "standards of decency and humanity" could be capable of such atrocities. The record of our standards of decency and humanity in Indochina has been consigned by this respected historian to the memory hole.

Nothing that I have said implies that Nixon should not be impeached, or that efforts to this end are necessarily an irrelevance or a deception. But the Left should not contribute to mystification. If an impeachment campaign is to be conducted, let it concentrate on the real and central issues. It should not mislead people to believe that the honor and integrity of the American government will be restored, if only we are rid of Richard Nixon. The United States will undergo no process of "denazification"; such exercises in coming to terms with reality are reserved for defeated and occupied nations.

But the Left and the peace movement should not be a party to efforts to rewrite history or distort its meaning. They should try to understand and to explain the workings of our society and its institutions, not to conceal them. If they do so honestly and forcefully, they will be subjected to new COINTELPROs and Disruption Campaigns on the part of the political police, not to speak of lies, abuse and denunciation. If the Left is to be a force in American affairs, it will have to find ways to withstand state repression and to resist and overcome the ideological institutions that enforce conformity, legitimize privilege, and stupefy the populace with propaganda and pretence. These are matters that should be kept clearly in mind by people committed to democracy and justice, and certainly by serious socialists, as they consider the political meaning of an impeachment campaign or an indictment of Richard Nixon, under the conditions that now prevail.

---

1. For some details on these and related matters, see Kevin Buckley, *Newsweek*, June 19, 1972; Kennedy Subcommittee Hearings of the Senate Judiciary Committee, May 8, 1972; Chomsky, *For Reasons of State*, Pantheon, 1973; Chomsky and Herman, *Counter-revolutionary Violence*, Warner Module, 1973. The latter is not easy to obtain, since distribution was blocked by the conglomerate (Warner Brothers) that owned the publisher, and, shortly after, the publisher was put out of business.
2. Guy Halverson, *Christian Science Monitor*, January 23, 1974.
3. "The Aborted Nixon Revolution," *New Republic*, August 11, 1973.
4. Lewis Chester, Cal McCrystal, Stephen Aris, and William Shawcross of the London Sunday Times, *Watergate*, Ballentine Books, 1973.
5. For analysis and texts of the Media documents, see Paul Cowan, Nick Egleson, and Nat Hentoff, *State Secrets*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.
6. Cf. Laurence Stern, "Hoover war on New Left bared," *Washington Post*, December 7, 1973.
7. Cf. Jack Nelson, *Los Angeles Times*, December 8, 1973, cited in *The Nation*, February 9, 1974, editorial.
8. *Los Angeles Times*, editorial, March 12, 1974.
9. *University Review*, no. 23, May 1, 1972, cited by Dave Dellinger, "Pre-Watergate Watergate," *Liberation*, November 1973.
10. Cf. *A Challenge to the Watergate Crimes*, Political Rights Defense Fund, 156 Fifth Avenue, Suite 703, NY 10010. This contains the text of the Class Action Complaint, the Government response, and other documents.
11. *Civil Liberties*, No. 273, December 1970; publication of the ACLU.
12. "Reporting Indochina: the News Media and the Legitimation of Lies," *Social Policy*, September/October 1973.
13. Cf. F. Beck and W. Godin, *Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession*, Viking, 1951; S. Swianiewicz, *Forced Labor and Economic Development*, Oxford, 1965; and many other sources.
14. Henry Carey, *The Past, the Present and the Future*, London, 1848, cited in an important study by Frederick Clairmonte, *Economic Liberalism and Underdevelopment*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960.
15. Cited by Clairmonte.
16. To the Kennanesque mentality, however, this horrendous record may count for little. See his letter to the *London Times*, July 25, 1973, decrying the "hysterical reaction of liberal and leftist quarters" to reports of massacres by Portuguese troops in Mozambique and challenging "the evident assumption that the destruction of Portuguese authority and the establishment of the power of the guerrilla leaders in these territories is desirable." He wonders "on what this assumption is based," tacitly dismissing the curious idea that people have a right to self-determination, free from the tutelage of the Christian countries that have hitherto shown such solicitude in caring for them.

Noam Chomsky's most recent publications are For Reasons of State *(Pantheon), and, with Edward Herman,* Counter-revolutionary Violence *(Warner Modular Publications).*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Miners for Democracy

Year One at the UMW

Two summers ago, in one of those rare moments when the chemistry of human indignation and institutional rot blend to form the soul of righteousness, they came riding out of the coal pits on their white chargers of reform. These coal miners who were bent on reshaping a listing tower of the American labor movement, the United Mine Workers (UMW), were not to be stayed. Their fuel was outrage—the outrage over 100,000 of their brothers killed in the mines in this century, outrage over black lung and more than 1.5 million disabling accidents since 1930, outrage over the union-financed murder of Jock Yablonski, outrage from callous government and wanton corporations ignoring them and worse, outrage over their own leaders pillaging the union treasury, whoring with company sweethearts and managing their affairs with no less dictatorial style than watch-charm Trujillos.

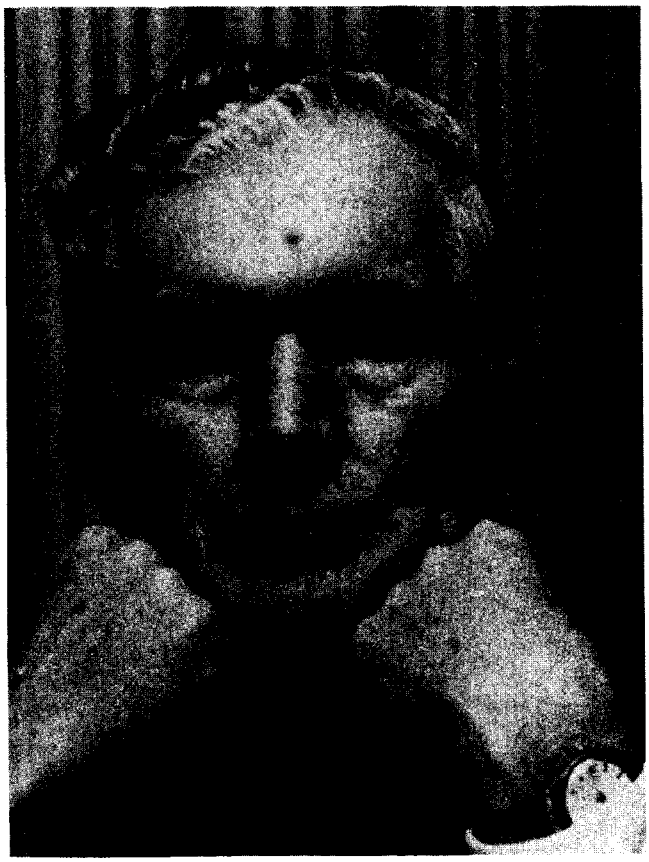
But there was more to it than that, and when these rank-and-file Miners for Democracy, as they called themselves, swept Tony Boyle from the union presidency in December 1972, underdogs everywhere took heart. For here were genuine blue-collar men, guided by no other cause than justice, sweeping away the yoke and crying "Enough." Masters of their own destiny, they would be, putting their union on the front edge of social change in the Appalachian coalfields, where most other institutions had failed or given up in frustration. There was even more, a notion that this rank-and-file rebellion could plot new directions for the labor movement, progressive new strategies to carry workers beyond dollars-and-cents obsessions.

So the feeling went. In fact, the Miners for Democracy (MFD) reformers headed by Arnold Miller, a West Virginian who suffers from black-lung disease, have brought substantial changes to the big old UMW since the jubilant days in 1972 when the rebels got into their own building, many of them for the first time. But all is not well in this coal miners' Camelot, and the troubles that Miller and his cohorts are now experiencing could not come at a worse time. Miller is negotiating his first contract with the soft-coal industry (the contract expires in November 1974), perhaps the most crucial test he'll face in his union stewardship. His success or failure at the bargaining table will determine a good deal of the UMW's future.

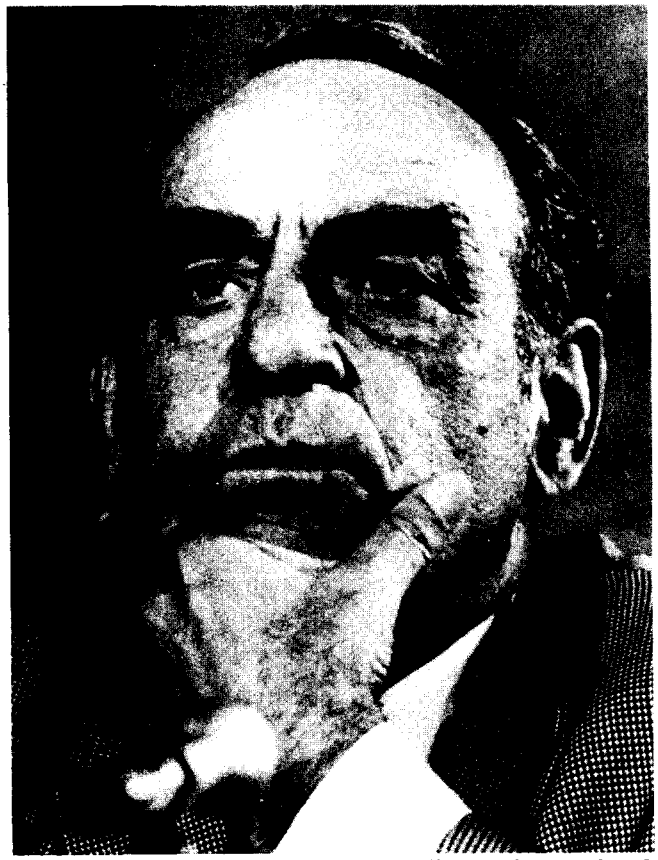
Michael Abramson/Black Star

by Ward E. Sinclair

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Arnold Miller, new UMW president.



Joseph A. Yablonski, murdered.

UPI Photos

The pressures on Miller are enormous. There is, for instance, the question of the role of the UMW in meeting an energy crisis in which coal is increasingly portrayed as a means to national salvation. There is the pressure to avoid a prolonged strike: the union's medical-care and pension fund is financed on a pay-as-you-go basis, and with its income tied to tonnage mined, it couldn't long survive a shutdown. The pressure is compounded because the UMW still has no strike fund, despite Miller's effort to have one set up by the union convention last winter. And there is pressure of a self-generating sort that forces Miller to bring back to his 110,000 working miners a contract acceptable to *them,* since for the first time, as a result of a Miller reform, there will be rank-and-file ratification.

As if that were not enough, Miller is going into these negotiations hounded by internal union problems. To the observer on the fringes of the wrenching events that have shaken the union these last four years, there is the unmistakable sensation that the whole beautiful ball of string that the Miners for Democracy painstakingly pieced together is coming unraveled. Perhaps it was inevitable—new bureaucracies would replace old ones, new rationalizations for inaction would replace old ones, human frailties would not remain long subdued, cancerous old wounds would not be excised with a single operation. But Miller has brought some of his problems upon himself—through political ingenuousness and administrative insensitivity. He is increasingly criticized by his own supporters for failing to do his homework on key issues, for blaming his staff and the executive board when things go wrong, for jumping on the press when in reality he's had kid-glove treatment (he wanted to bar reporters from the convention on the erroneous grounds that he had been misquoted). And clustered in the wings are the rancorous partisans of Tony Boyle, prepared to renew their claim on the power they so long enjoyed.

At times Miller and the reformers he ran with and won with, Vice President Mike Trbovich and Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick, have been so bitterly divided they would hardly talk to each other. Miller has lost opportunities he had to win the confidence of the policy-making international board by risking his credibility on issues of minimal importance. His headquarters staff, although reasonably in command of itself, runs alternately hot with enthusiasm and cold with fury at Miller's non-response to challenges. Several times when smoldering antagonisms within the UMW have burst into flame, they have been made more vivid by Miller's reaction—to ignore them. Says one of Miller's top aides: "Arnold just doesn't want controversy. He wants for it to go away. He's after the absence of abrasiveness—but the more he sees, the more he withdraws into himself."

[THE LATE REBELLION]

To grasp the present, one must go back a bit. The UMW was born of necessity in 1890, when men and boys worked in conditions of classic peonage. Bitter wars were fought between miners and coal operators over UMW organizing movements. John L. Lewis, a titanic figure who became UMW president in 1920, guided the union for 40 years, much of that time as the flagship of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American labor. But for all his greatness, Lewis left some ugly legacies. He suppressed dissent; he revoked democracy; he carefully manipulated his autocracy to perpetuate himself in power. Revelations of recent years—about his handling of union funds, about his coziness with the coal operators—have tarnished the heroic image. He also left some bad apples in charge when he retired in 1960. The worst of the lot was W. A. (Tony) Boyle, who tried to run the union the way Lewis did it, but wound up dumped from office and sent to prison for his efforts.

Boyle, a short, bluff man from Montana, became UMW president in 1963. He operated in the same style as Lewis—even tried to talk like him—but he wasn't a very good imitator. He, too, stifled dissent and made sure the conventions were packed and that the district-office and executive-board jobs were held by the right appointees. One of the low marks of his profligate tenure was the 1964 convention, when Boyle toughs manhandled dissenters on the convention floor. Sooner or later the roof had to blow off. It did in May 1969, when a loyalist board member named Joseph (Jock) Yablonski announced he would run against Boyle on a platform of major reform to make the union responsive again to its members. Until Yablonski started talking, few realized just how fat and unresponsive the UMW had become.

Yablonski lost the election and was murdered, along with his wife and daughter, three weeks later. The trail quickly led back into the union and revealed a complex conspiracy that ultimately took Boyle this spring to trial and conviction for the murders. Meanwhile, the opposition to Boyle had escalated. Yablonski's followers stuck together and forced the Department of Labor to investigate the election. A federal judge finally ruled that Boyle had won through fraud and ordered a rerun in 1972. Pensioners won another suit, substantiating their charges that an executive-level conspiracy among the union, its welfare fund and the union-owned National Bank of Washington had bilked them out of millions of dollars in benefits. Federal investigators caught Boyle illegally passing out union money to politicians and slapped him with an indictment that culminated in his trial, conviction and imprisonment last fall.

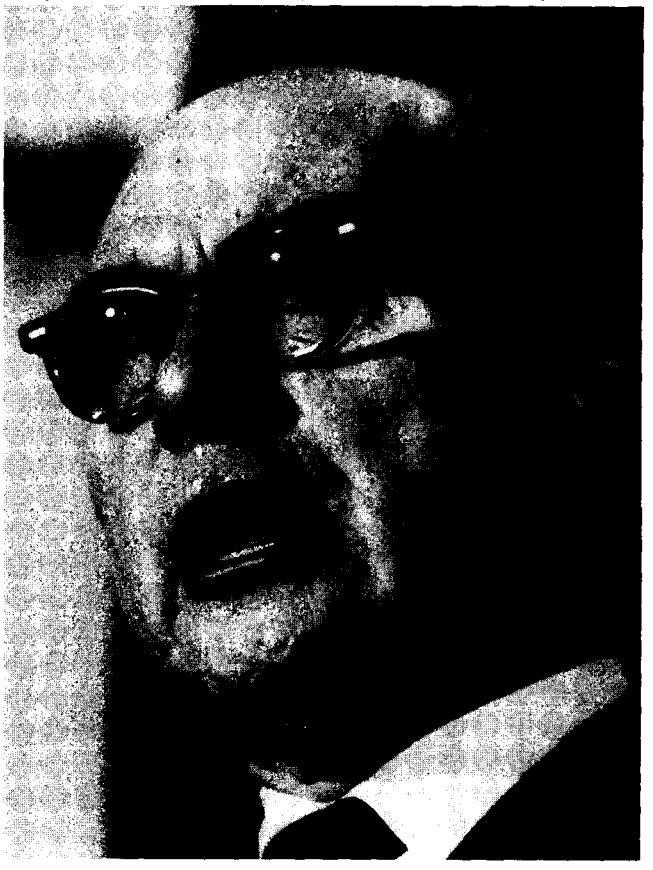
All through those months, virtually from the time Yablonski was buried, his disciples kept the pressure on Boyle, on the courts and on the government. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., who had been Yablonski's lawyer, supervised their legal efforts; Yablonski's attorney-sons, Joseph (Chip) and Kenneth, were major figures in keeping the movement going. In 1972, when they were assured that there would be a new election, Miners for Democracy held a nominating convention of their own. It was democratic—remarkably so, as conventions go—but it left a residue of bad feeling. Mike Trbovich, a Pennsylvania miner who was close to Yablonski and who headed MFD, seemed the logical choice for the presidential nomination. The Yablonskis backed another man, however, and Arnold Miller—a leader in the black-lung movement, with a good reputation among the pensioners whose votes would be crucial against Boyle—slipped into the vacuum and took the nomination. Trbovich survived still another move against him and won the second spot on the ticket.

[FROM THE JAWS OF VICTORY]

To almost everyone's surprise—including their own—Miners for Democracy defeated the discredited Boyle regime. Their battle had attracted and been abetted by young activists, some of whom stayed on in key staff jobs under Miller—a situation that has caused some criticism about non-coal miners in top jobs. There still is grumbling on that score because, as pure as their notions might have been, many MFD men construed change to mean jobs for themselves. The reformers had promised big changes in the UMW and they started off with a splash when they moved into their offices in December 1972. Some things they did with a flair that quickly caught the public eye—voluntarily cut their own salaries, auctioned off Boyle's Cadillacs, dismissed socialite True Davis from his job as National Bank president, and revamped the *UMW Journal*, which every miner reads, into a stylish and incisive newspaper.

Behind the window dressing, Miller's people achieved other things of substance. As far as they went they were reforms of importance, but some could have been neater and sweeter and more in keeping with the spirit of what MFD was after. For example, executive board members and district officers were elected in spirited competition, some in areas where miners had never before been allowed to vote. But Miller kept aloof from the elections and the results were predictable. Some of MFD's best men, who would have helped give Miller the political clout he now needs, were defeated.

Tony Boyle, former UMW president, convicted of murder.



Michael Abramson/Black Star

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The union's National Bank of Washington was reorganized but not even a token rank-and-filer was named to the board of directors. Nor did the UMW instruct its employees at the bank to cut the shuffling and figure out a way to get some financial aid to needy miners and their families in Appalachia. The treasury underwent an audit and a start was made on teaching district officers to organize their finances. A credit union for miners came into being. Safety and research departments were created, but the new safety effort, impressive as it was, was hurt by political squabbling among the officers over patronage.

That, however, seemed minor compared to the gains scored in the safety area. For years, the Boyle regime had a one-man safety division, spent next to nothing on safety education, said little when federal and state officials winked at violations of safety codes. Today the UMW has a staff of more than 40 tending to safety problems, in Washington and in the mining districts. The safety staff has intensified pressure on the enforcers and has conducted training courses for local mine safety committee men. The aim, Miller says, is to make them "meaner than junkyard dogs." And the safety division has done the unheard of–it has brought charges against company mine foremen for negligence and made the charges stick.

An organizing effort was formed to go after non-union mines, but its most convincing activity–a lengthy organizing strike against the Brookside mine in Harlan County, Kentucky, owned by North Carolina's Duke Power Co.–came about almost as a fluke. Acting on his own authority, a holdover Boyle appointee in the district office promised the men $100 a week if they struck. Such a proposal was unprecedented, but with its prestige inadvertently on the line, the Miller regime took up the cause without flinching and financed it from the union treasury at an enormous cost. At this writing Miller has committed nearly $1 million to the battle.

The symbolism of the fight carries greater weight than the addition of some 180 Brookside miners to the UMW rolls. As a candidate, Miller promised that the UMW would return to the coal fields of Eastern Kentucky where the union once held powerful sway. In the 1950s the union, for a variety of reasons, abandoned much of Eastern Kentucky and left behind a good deal of resentment among miners and their families. The UMW-Duke confrontation carries the classic overtones of the little guy battling against the giant absentee owner who has ripped off the Kentucky hills for years. Miners at other non-union operations in the region–and their bosses, too–are closely watching events at Brookside. The view is widely held that, if Duke signs with the UMW, Miller's chances for organizing more of the doubters in non-union mines will increase commensurately.

As their first year concluded, the reformers guided the union through a convention at Pittsburgh that very likely was more open than any ever held by the UMW. The atmos-

October 1973: Confrontation at struck Brookside mine.

Wide World Photo

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

phere was tentative—it was the first meeting of MFD men and Boyle men on the same turf. Miller won points and lost points, but his caution helped persuade opponents that they had the strength to give him trouble if they so chose. Miller held the convention together by emphasizing the need for unity with contract talks coming up and with the Harlan County organizing efforts entering a crucial stage.

One of the points he won at Pittsburgh—approval of his plan to relocate UMW headquarters in the coalfields to take the union closer to its members—has haunted Miller ever since. A site for the new headquarters was to be chosen by Miller, who would then submit his selection to his executive board. Necessarily, the site selection work was conducted with secrecy. But when word leaked out that Miller had refused even to receive a group of Pennsylvania promoters who offered an impressive site package, the board reacted bitterly and suspiciously. Miller's West Virginia choice was roundly rejected and Miller was furious. He suffered another reverse with the board on an issue of far less importance. His proposal to commission a film about the union met with casual approval, but when skeptics suggested the money would be better spent on other projects—like the less-expensive TV spots on mine safety that Miller already had turned down—the board backed away and refused to go along with the movie idea. Defeats such as those have cost Miller important support among neutrals on the board and eroded his hope of winning over his critics.

[HEALTH AND WELFARE]

In other areas, where direction from the top has seemed imperative, the new regime simply has not moved, or when it moved it did so haltingly. Next to nothing has been done about the abominable housing and sanitation conditions in which many Appalachian miners live. Occupational-health work has not been stepped up. Continuing exposure of miners to heavy doses of coal dust, which gives them black lung disease, has attracted little attention. A proposed education program never got off the ground.

The union's potential for working its anticipated progressive thinking on the U.S. Congress has been marred by a lobbying effort that hasn't offered much more than Boyle's ineptness. Miller, overlooking what to most everyone else seemed a blatant conflict of interest, chose a young state senator from West Virginia, Robert Nelson, to head the lobbying arm. His response to critics was to say that Nelson would separate union business from public business. But while Congress stewed over such puzzlers as the energy crisis, relaxation of environmental controls, the future of coal, impeachment and strip mining, the union offered little constructive thought. Nelson was back in West Virginia, sitting in the Senate and running a reelection campaign.

Two examples of UMW inactivity deserve fuller scrutiny. Both involve money—in one case, the money that coal operators don't pay for violations of the federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969; and in the other case, money that comes out of miners' pockets to pay lawyers to help them collect the black-lung benefits that the federal law assured them.

Because of his special identity with black lung—he has it himself and was a leader in the great black lung compensation rebellion that swept Appalachia in 1968 and 1969—Miller had a plan to put old coal miners to work as lay counselors. That is, the union would hire a cadre of advisers from the black-lung movement to help miners apply for their benefits, to avoid costly dealings with lawyers. Miller set up a field office in West Virginia to assist miners with these problems, but it was only a local solution. Meanwhile, in neighboring Kentucky, coal country lawyers were scooping up an unbelievable bonanza in black-lung fees from the state compensation program, which is underwritten by the federal treasury and which ultimately cuts into the applicant's payments. In 1972 and 1973, one lawyer, Kelsey Friend, Sr., of Pikeville, Ky., collected more than *$2.2 million* in fees for his black-lung work. The *UMW Journal* blasted the system of ripoffs, but Miller and his lawyers let it drop.

There has been similar disinterest in the mine-safety penalty scandal. Congress intended, and most safety experts agreed, that perhaps the most powerful influence for improving safety was to make an errant coal operator pay a price for his waywardness. The idea is gloriously simple: it is cheaper to keep a clean and safely operated coal mine. But for a variety of reasons, it hasn't worked that way. The UMW has pressed the Department of Interior's Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA) to bear down on unsafe conditions, and with some regularity it has exposed the worst of the operators to publicity that sends tremors through board rooms.

But MESA can't or won't collect the fines. At this writing, only about 15 percent of some $40 million in proposed penalties had been paid by the operators. And some of the biggest companies with the worst safety reputations were rewriting the book for scofflaws. For instance, the Pittston Co.—the same outfit that tried to blame God when its dam broke and showered death and destruction along Buffalo Creek, W. Va. in 1972—had paid only about $7,300 of $2.1 million in proposed fines. Consolidation Coal, operator of the mine that blew up in 1968 at Farmington, W. Va., killing 78 men, had paid some $800,000 out of $2.9 million in assessments. Island Creek Coal, headed by that old Tennessee populist senator, Albert Gore, had ponied up only $249,000 of the $2.3 million assessed by MESA.

"Coal will be mined safely, or not at all," Miller has said since his days as a candidate. And in fact, his regime has taken major steps to develop its own safety program and educate miners to the fact that government and industry simply are not going to be as effective in policing the mines as the miners themselves. Yet the union hasn't pushed MESA to increase its fine-collection efforts nor has the union put its own legal staff to work on the issue. UMW faltering on assessments was underscored when Congressman Henry Reuss of Wisconsin convened a special inquiry last fall to get some answers. Miller's people almost didn't show. The congressman's invitation to testify got waylaid in the union's paper maze and only the last-minute preparation of a statement saved the UMW from total embarassment. Coal company types, of course, showed up with stacks of charts and statements justifying their nonpayment of fines.

(*Continued on page 56*)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Woman

by Anais Nin

Why one writes is a question I can answer easily, having so often asked it of myself. I believe one writes because one has to create a world in which one can live. I could not live in any of the worlds offered to me—the world of my parents, the world of war, the world of politics. I had to create a world of my own, like a climate, a country, an atmosphere in which I could breathe, reign, and recreate myself when destroyed by living. That I believe is the reason for every work of art.

The artist is the only one who knows that the world is a subjective creation, that there is a choice to be made, a selection of elements. It is a materialization, an incarnation of his inner world. Then he hopes to attract others into it. He hopes to impose his particular vision and share it with others. And when the second stage is not reached, the brave artist continues nevertheless. The few moments of communion with the world are worth the pain, for it is a world for others, an inheritance for others, a gift to others in the end.

We also write to heighten our own awareness of life. We write to lure and enchant and console others. We write to serenade our lovers. We write to taste life twice, in the moment and in retrospection. We write, like Proust, to render all of it eternal, and to persuade ourselves that it is eternal. We write to be able to transcend our life, to reach beyond it. We write to teach ourselves to speak with others, to record the journey into the labyrinth. We write to expand our world when we feel strangled, or constricted, or lonely. We write as the birds sing, as the primitives dance their rituals. If you do not breathe through writing, if you do not cry out in writing, or sing in writing, then don't

Photograph by Margo Moore

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I know you have followed me in the diary when I wanted to be a 'muse,' and I wanted to be the wife of the artist. But I was really trying to avoid the final issue—that I had to do the job myself."

write, because our culture has no use for it. When I don't write, I feel my world shrinking. I feel I am in a prison. I feel I lose my fire and my color. It should be a necessity, as the sea needs to heave, and I call it breathing.

[GUILT FOR CREATING]

For too many centuries we have been busy being "muses" to the artists. And I know you have followed me in the diary when I wanted to be a muse, and I wanted to be the wife of the artist, but I was really trying to avoid the final issue—that I had to do the job myself. In letters I've received from women, I've found what Rank had described as a guilt for creating. It's a very strange illness, and it doesn't strike men—because the culture has demanded of man that he give his maximum talents. He is encouraged by the culture, to become the great doctor, the great philosopher, the great professor, the great writer. Everything is really planned to push him in that direction. Now this was not asked of women. And in my family, just as in your family probably, I was expected simply to marry, to be a wife, and to raise children. But not all women are gifted for that, and sometimes, as D. H. Lawrence properly said, "We don't need more children in the world, we need hope."

So this is what I set out to do, to adopt all of you. Because Baudelaire told me a long time ago that in each one of us there is a man, a woman, and a child—and the child is always in trouble. The psychologists are always confirming what the poets have said so long ago. You know, even poor, maligned Freud said once, "Everywhere I go, I find a poet has been there before me." So the poet said we have three personalities, and one was the child fantasy which remained in the adult and which, in a way, makes the artist.

When I talk so much of the artist, I don't mean only the one who gives us music, who gave us color, who gave us architecture, who gave us philosophy, who gave us so much and enriched our life. I mean the creative spirit in all its manifestations. Even as a child, when my father and mother were quarreling—my father was a pianist and my mother was a singer—when music time came, everything became peaceful and beautiful. And as children we shared the feeling that music was a magical thing which restored harmony in the family and made life bearable for us.

Now there was a woman in France—and I give her story because it shows how we can turn and metamorphose and use everything to become creative. This was the mother of Utrillo. Because she was very poor, the mother of Utrillo was condemned to be a laundress and a houseworker. But she lived in Montmartre at the time of almost the greatest group of painters that were ever put together, and she became a model for them. As she watched the painters paint, she learned to paint. And she became, herself, a noted painter, Suzanne Valadon. It was the same thing that happened to me when I was modelling at the age of 16, because I didn't have any profession and I didn't know how else to earn a living. I learned from the painters the sense of color, which was to train me in observation my whole life.

I learned many things from the artist which I would call creating out of nothing. Varda, for example, taught me that collage is made out of little bits of cloth. He even had me cut a piece of the lining of my coat because he took a liking to the color of it and wanted to incorporate it into a collage. He was making very beautiful celestial gardens and fantasies of every possible dream with just little bits of cloth and glue. Varda is also the one who taught me that if you leave a chair long enough on the beach, it becomes bleached into the most beautiful color imaginable which you could never find with paint.

I learned from Tinguely that he went to junkyards, and he picked out all kinds of bits and pieces of machines and built some machines which turned out to be caricatures of technology. He even built a machine which committed suicide, which I described in a book called *Collage*. I am trying to say that the artist is a magician—that he taught me that no matter where you were put, you can always somehow come out of that place.

Now I was placed somewhere you might imagine would be terribly interesting, a suburb of Paris. But a suburb of Paris can be just as lonely as a suburb of New York or Los Angeles or San Francisco. I was in my twenties and I didn't know anyone at the time, so I turned to my love of writers. I wrote a book, and suddenly I found myself in a Bohemian, artistic, literary writer's world. And that was my bridge. But sometimes, when people say to me, that's fine, but you were gifted for writing, my answer is that there is not always that kind of visible skill.

I know a woman who started with nothing, whom I consider a great heroine. She had not been able to go to high school because her family was very poor and had so many children. The family lived on a farm in Saratoga, but she decided to go to New York City. She began working at Brentano's and after a little while told them that she wanted to have a bookshop of her own. They laughed at her and said that she was absolutely mad and would never survive the summer. She had $150 saved and she rented a little place that went downstairs in the theater section of New York, and everybody came in the evening after the theater. And today her bookshop is not only the most famous bookshop in New York, the Gotham Book Mart, but it is a place where everybody wants to have bookshop parties. She has visitors from all over the world—Virginia Woolf came to see her when she came to New York, Isak Dinesen,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and many more. And no other bookshop in New York had that fascination which came from her, her humanity and friendliness, and the fact that people could stand there and read a book and she wouldn't even notice them. Now Francis Steloff is her name, and I mention her whenever anyone claims that it takes a particular skill to get out of a restricted, limited or impoverished life. Francis is now 86, a beautiful old lady with white hair and perfect skin who has defied age.

It was the principle of creative will that I admired and learned from musicians like Eric Satie, who defied starvation and used his compositions to protect his piano from the dampness of his little room in a suburb of Paris. Even Einstein, who disbelieved Newton's unified field theory, died believing what is being proved now. I give that as an instance of faith, and faith is what I want to talk about. What kept me writing, when for 20 years I was received by complete silence, is that faith in the necessity to be the artist—and no matter what happens even if there is no one listening.

I don't need to speak of Zelda Fitzgerald. I think all of you have thought about Zelda, how she might never have lost her mind if Fitzgerald had not forbidden her to publish her diary. It is well known that Fitzgerald said no, that it could not be published, because he would need it for his own work. This, to me, was the beginning of Zelda's disturbance. She was unable to fulfill herself as a writer, and was overpowered by the reputation of Fitzgerald. But if you read her own book, you will find that in a sense she created a much more original novel than he ever did, one more modern in its effort to use language in an original way.

History, much like the spotlight, has hit whatever it wanted to hit, and very often it missed the woman. We all know about Dylan Thomas. Very few of us know about Caitlin Thomas, who after her death wrote a book which is a poem in itself and sometimes surpasses his own—in strength, in primitive beauty, in a real wake of feeling. But she was so overwhelmed by the talent of Dylan Thomas that she never thought anything of her writing at all until he died.

[THE WOMAN OF THE FUTURE]

So we're here to celebrate the sources of faith and confidence. I want to give you the secrets of the constant alchemy that we must practice to turn brass into gold, hate into love, destruction into creation—to change the crass daily news into inspiration, and despair into joy. None need misinterpret this as indifference to the state of the world or to the actions by which we can stem the destructiveness of the corrupt system. There is an acknowledgement that as human beings, we need nourishment to sustain the life of the spirit, so that we can act in the world, but I don't mean turn away. I mean we must gain our strength and our values from self-growth and self-discovery. Against all odds, against all handicaps, against the chamber of horrors we call history, man has continued to dream and to depict its opposite. That is what we have to do. We do not escape into philosophy, psychology and art—we go there to restore our shattered selves into whole ones.

The woman of the future, who is really being born today, will be a woman completely free of guilt for creating and for her self-development. She will be a woman in harmony with her own strength, not necessarily called masculine, or eccentric, or something unnatural. I imagine she will be very tranquil about her strength and her serenity, a woman who will know how to talk to children and to the men who sometimes fear her. Man has been uneasy about this self-evolution of woman, but he need not be—because, instead of having a dependent, he will have a partner. He will have someone who will not make him feel that every day he has to go into battle against the world to support a wife and child, or a childlike wife. The woman of the future will never try to live vicariously through the man, and urge and push him to despair, to fulfill something that she should really be doing herself. So that is my first image—she is not aggressive, she is serene, she is sure, she is confident, she is able to develop her skills, she is able to ask for space for herself.

I want this quality of the sense of the person, the sense of direct contact with human beings to be preserved by woman, not as something bad, but as something that could make a totally different world where intellectual capacity would be fused with intuition and with a sense of the personal.

Now when I wrote the diary and when I wrote fiction, I was trying to say that we need both intimacy and a deep knowledge of a few human beings. We also need mythology and fiction which is a little further away, and art is always a little further away from the entirely personal world of the woman. But I want to tell you the story of Colette. When her name was suggested for the *Académie francais,* which is considered the highest honor given to writers, there was much discussion because she hadn't written about war, she hadn't written about any large event, she had only written about love. They admired her as a writer, as a stylist—she was one of our best stylists—but somehow the personal world of Colette was not supposed to have been very important. And I think it is extremely important because it's the loss of that intimacy and the loss of that person-to-person sense which the woman has developed, because she has been more constricted and less active in the world. So the family was very important, the neighbor was very important, and the friend was very important.

It would be nice if men could share that, too, of course. And they will, on the day they recognize the femininity in themselves, which is what Jung has been trying to tell us. I was asked once how I felt about men who cried, and I said that I loved men who cried, because it showed they had feeling. The day that woman admits what we call her masculine qualities, and man admits his so-called feminine qualities, will mean that we admit we are androgynous, that we have many personalities, many sides to fulfill. A woman can be courageous, can be adventurous, she can be all these things. And this new woman who is coming up is very inspiring, very wonderful. And I love her.

From a talk given last April in San Francisco as part of a celebration of women in the arts. Anais Nin has just published the fifth volume of her autobiography, covering the years 1947 to 1955 (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jean-Claude Francolos/Gamma

Solzhenitsyn and the Radical Cause

(We are devoting a significant portion of this issue of RAMPARTS *to a discussion of the exiled Soviet writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn, and to a review of Solzhenitsyn's book* The Gulag Archipelago *by the Soviet Marxist and historian Roy Medvedev. We are doing so because we believe that the efforts of Solzhenitsyn, Medvedev and other Soviet "dissidents" to reveal and document the truth about the Stalin terror, and to challenge the system of political imprisonment and repression that remains as its legacy, is not a secondary issue, peripheral to the Left, as has often been suggested or assumed. Rather, this article makes the case that it is one of the most important struggles in the world today, and that supporting this struggle is one of the first and most pressing responsibilities of radicals and revolutionaries everywhere.--The Editors)*

by David Horowitz

Although almost 20 years have elapsed since the famous Khrushchev Report on the crimes of Stalin, it is clear that many radicals still do not understand either the significance of the events described, nor their continuing impact on revolutionary politics not only in the Soviet Union, but internationally as well. This is evident not only from the puzzled silence which has been the response of large sections of the Left to the exile of the Soviet writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn, but in the letters RAMPARTS has received criticizing Marcus Raskin's defense of him and his fellow dissidents. (RAMPARTS, March 1974)

Part of the problem is that there is a radical reflex which seeks to relate Solzhenitsyn and the other dissenters to the parameters of the cold war, before listening to what they are saying, let alone defending their right to say it. For a variety of reasons, not all of them bad, radicals are susceptible to the Kremlin's argument that any discussion of Soviet repression and injustice helps to intensify cold war animosities and injures the spirit of detente. This attitude, which is most consistently put forward by American Communists but which has more than a few adherents among the old New Left, creates some intriguing ironies. It suggests that these radicals really give credence to the cold war myth that America's hostility towards the Soviet Union is based on the plight of the individual under Communist rule. Or, less baldly, that American public outrage at Soviet crimes, alleged or real, determines policy directions in Washington.

This is hardly in accord with the facts. America's pre-cold war honeymoon with Stalin in the 1930s took place *after* the violence of the collectivization, and reached its warmest heights *after* the purges and the terror. Prior to these events, the *New York Times* had expressed pleasure at the outcome of the inner party struggle that followed Lenin's death, when the cynical but practical Stalin won out over the revolutionary hothead Trotsky.

The shifts in American policy towards the Soviet Union have never been a simple reflection of American popular attitudes to Moscow or its treatment of individuals, and are not determined by such factors today. The same issue of *Time* magazine which featured the story of Solzhenitsyn's exile and called him a hero for the age reported a U.S. official's comment that the expulsion had caused relief in the State Department. "Kissinger was rescued from a terribly difficult situation. He would have had to deplore the arrest or lose a great deal of stature. From his standpoint, he was very lucky." In his own official statement on the Solzhenitsyn case, Kissinger himself was "cool" according to *Time*. He said that Solzhenitsyn would be welcome in the U.S. but added that "our constant view has been that the necessity for detente does not reflect approbation of the Soviet domestic structure." The conscience of U.S. policymakers is pragmatically selective.

Practically speaking, those radicals who want to put the lid on the discussion of Solzhenitsyn and the Soviet dissidents for the sake of detente are saying little more than that they want to make it easier for Nixon and Kissinger to conduct the foreign policy which they would pursue in any case. One might as well argue for an end to the Watergate investigations because they are tying the hands of the diplo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

matic architects of peace with Russia and China.

Another reflex of radicals is to want to know the politics both of the people they are being asked to defend and of the forces which are joining in the defense. In some contexts this is a reasonable and even shrewd position, because high principles embodying free speech and other human rights have not infrequently been used by those in power for less noble political objectives. Official U.S. policy in the early cold war years *was* bent on utilizing the specter of Soviet "totalitarianism" to justify a program of massive military rearmament, economic expansion in the Third World, and counterrevolutionary aggression in defense of an oppressive global status quo. In those years, the crimes of Stalin *were* selectively trotted out, to inflame the passions of the anti-Communist crusade. But in the present international context, when Washington is playing a subtler, but equally self-serving diplomatic game, the chief orchestrator of America's imperial policy is even made uncomfortable by the difficulties his counterparts in the Kremlin experience with recalcitrant writers and uncontrollable dissidents who command a wide and sympathetic audience in the West.

In short, even though the Solzhenitsyn case *is* a *cause célèbre* in the West, that in itself is not a sufficient reason for concluding that it is an unworthy one. In the last Indo-Pakistani war, the plight of Bangladesh gained popular sympathy and large-scale media attention in the United States, while Washington's policy was one of "tilting" the other way. The Watergate parallel is also instructive. The fact that a southern racist like Sam Ervin or a rightwinger like James Buckley has taken stands against Nixon is not a sufficient guide for radicals as to what their own attitude towards the investigation and impeachment ought to be. Sometimes a given issue will cause antagonistic forces to converge. That was, after all, how the United States and Russia wound up as allies in the Second World War.

[ON FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS]

The politics of Solzhenitsyn himself are complex and do not fit any simple equation of the cold war. Indeed, it may almost be doubted that they have any immediate reference to left/right politics as they exist in the West. In part, this is because of the censored intellectual and political environment in which Solzhenitsyn and his compatriots have been compelled to form their ideas. In part, it is because of the peculiar, contradictory and hybrid nature of Soviet society itself, which combines elements of a progressive Marxism with the attitudes and practices of a Russian despotism that was overthrown but not uprooted in the course of the revolutionary struggle.

The impact of Solzhenitsyn's views, as expressed in his 15,000-word letter to the Soviet government, is often jarring and sometimes even bizarre. He both calls for a restoration of power to the soviets, for example, and complains that Lenin was not patriotic; he praises the Soviet Union's growth in military strength and power under Communism, but complains about Soviet support for Cuba and Vietnam; and he offers the view that the Soviet people are not yet ready for democracy and may never be. What has to be understood is that the strangeness and even repulsiveness of many of Solzhenitsyn's views are no more bizarre or repulsive than significant aspects of his life experience under 55 years of Soviet rule. It need hardly be said that much of what is noble in Solzhenitsyn's effort and struggle, his courage and service of an ideal, also draws its energy and character from the Soviet revolutionary experience and tradition. In sum, the paradoxical character of his thought, mixing elements that are both reactionary and progressive, humanistic and obscurantist, reflects in a painfully honest mirror the paradoxical and contradictory history of the Soviet Union since 1917.

Solzhenitsyn was born one year after the Bolshevik Revolution, and was a Marxist and a Communist until he was sent to Siberia in 1945. He was an officer in the Red Army and was even considered at one point as recruitment material for the NKVD secret police. It was in Siberia that his views underwent a sea change from Marxism to a deeply religious and conservative view of human nature and society. The defense of Solzhenitsyn is not a defense of some White Guard remnant of the Czarist era, as some leftists seem to be suggesting. It is the defense of a child of the Revolution and a witness to its trials. Radicals have much to learn from his suffering, even though it may not be precisely the same lessons that he himself has learned.

But the defense of Solzhenitsyn involves more than that. There are times when a principle like the right to speak out and publish becomes fundamental in itself, a ground beyond which there can be no retreat. The Soviet regime is 57 years old and now governs the second most powerful state in the world. Political democracy was an integral part of the original Bolshevik program, and the democratic rights which it guaranteed were suspended during the Civil War only as a temporary measure in the interests of the survival of the infant and invaded Soviet state. Yet they have never been restored. At what point is one forced to recognize that the fulfillment of these rights has been *permanently* deferred by the present rulers of the Soviet Union, and that they will never be instituted without a struggle that will mean real changes in power? Is it not a pressing responsibility of the Left to support this struggle? What could be of more vital concern to the international Left than the directions that power will take in a state as important as the Soviet Union, and with as deep historical and ideological connections to the world socialist movement? And yet, there are radicals who, like Kissinger, regard the struggle for democratic rights in the Soviet Union as an unfortunate embarrassment and as low on the priority scale of radical concerns.

The present importance of defending the principle of dissent, *qua* principle and without regard for the political specifics of the individuals under attack, is made clear by the witchhunters themselves in the current wave of Soviet repression. They have suppressed the works of a committed Communist and Marxist like Roy Medvedev, with the same crude hand as they have Solzhenitsyn's, who has renounced Marxism, and they have labeled both men "anti-Soviet."*

*** The very term "anti-Soviet" is a witchhunting and chauvinist epithet, but neither Medvedev, nor even Solzhenitsyn, fits the charge. Solzhenitsyn is far *too* patriotic, from the perspective of a Marxist internationalism—indeed his hostility to Marxism seems to be because it is not patriotic—and too reconciled to the present authori-**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When men as disparate in their views as Solzhenitsyn and Medvedev are lumped together in the process of repression, the issue is obviously not their analyses or programs or even allegiances, but the facts which they are attempting to bring to light. As Andrei Sakharov and nine other prominent dissenters declared in a statement protesting Solzhenitsyn's exile, "His treason consists of his disclosure to the whole world, with shattering force, of the monstrous crimes committed in the USSR not very long ago." The Soviet government is afraid of the truth. Since it cannot refute the facts, its only feasible strategy is to outlaw all efforts to publish truths not sanctioned by the official apparatus. The "universal, obligatory force-feeding with lies" writes Solzhenitsyn in his appeal to the Soviet government, "is now the most agonizing aspect of existence in our country—worse than all our material miseries, worse than any lack of civil liberties." In such circumstances, the defense of the principles of freedom in the Soviet Union, of the right to speak and disseminate unauthorized versions of what is true and real, is an absolute necessity, a *precondition* of general political and moral progress, and not a mere luxury of intellectuals—as some misguided American radicals have claimed.

[STALIN'S CONTINUING LEGACY]

The glacier underlying the present structure of Soviet politics, which makes it impossible for the Soviet leadership to tolerate historical candor, and leads to such crudities as the exile of a world famous writer, and the incarceration in psychiatric hospitals of many of its leading scientists and intellectuals, is the unresolved legacy of the Stalin era. It is this legacy, and its continuing consequences, that the historical works of Solzhenitsyn and Medvedev force into political consciousness; it is the issue of Stalinism's survival that the Soviet dissenters raise.

Many radicals in the West do not understand the urgency or importance of this struggle. Some seem to think of Stalin as an exemplar of revolutionary pragmatism who was not afraid to crack heads in a revolutionary cause. They acknowledge that he may have been responsible for some excesses, but regard these as inevitable in a class war, where any crimes he may have committed were more than likely balanced by the crimes of the oppressor he opposed. It seems evident that this is a view now widely held among the youth of the Soviet Union themselves, who have not been able to read Medvedev's *Let History Judge*—the first attempt by a Soviet Marxist and Communist to document the Stalin purges and analyze the Stalinist system—or Solzhenitsyn's more personal memoir, the *Gulag Archipelago*.

The hard fact, however—the fact that every serious revolutionary has to look in the face—is that Stalin killed the cream of the Bolshevik Party: the best, the most idealistic, the most revolutionary cadre in the Soviet Union (and in several other Communist parties as well). In *Let History Judge*, Medvedev estimates that more than a million cadre out of a total Communist Party membership of two and a half million disappeared in the purges of 1937-1939.

> *In short, the NKVD arrested and killed, within two years, more Communists than had been lost in all the years of the underground struggle, the three revolutions, and the Civil War. The oldest members were special victims, as the composition of the [Party] Congresses shows. [At the 17th Congress in 1934] 80 percent of the delegates had joined the Party before 1920; the figure was only 19 percent at the 18th Congress [in 1939]. The losses among the young intelligentsia, the Party's hope for the future, were also enormous. . . . In 1936-1939, on the most cautious estimates, four to five million people were subjected to repression for political reasons. At least four to five hundred thousand of them —above all the high officials—were summarily shot; the rest were given long terms of confinement. In 1937-1938 there were days when up to a thousand people were shot in Moscow alone. These were not streams, these were rivers of blood, the blood of honest Soviet people. The simple truth must be stated: not one of the tyrants and despots of the past persecuted and destroyed so many of his compatriots.*

For Medvedev, Stalin's crimes against the Revolution's cadre is the orienting axis of the analysis; for Solzhenitsyn it is Stalin's crimes against the nation. In the second half of 1937, when the Soviet Union was preparing for the coming war with Germany, the NKVD began its assault on the core of the country's military command. "Almost all the most outstanding Red Army commanders who had risen to prominence during the Civil War perished," writes Medvedev. According to one apparently conservative Soviet estimate by the Bolshevik A. I. Todorskii, whom Medvedev quotes, in the years just before the war with Hitler, those arrested included 3 of the 5 marshals, 3 of the 4 first-rank army commanders, all 12 of the second-rank army commanders, 60 of the 67 corps commanders, 136 of 199 division commanders, and 221 of 397 brigade commanders; both first-rank fleet admirals, both second-rank fleet admirals, all 6 first-rank admirals, 9 of the 15 second-rank admirals, both first-rank army commissars, all 15 second-rank army commissars, 25 of the 28 corps commissars, 79 of the 97 division commissars, and 34 of the 36 brigade commissars. There were also huge losses among the field-grade and junior officers. "The shocking truth can be stated quite simply: never did the officer staff of any army suffer such great losses in any war as the Soviet Army suffered in this time of peace."

Many writers, Solzhenitsyn included, think that this wholesale destruction of the military leadership of the Red Army virtually invited Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, and was responsible for the terrible losses the Soviets sustained before turning the tide. Stalin's subsequent vindictiveness against the battered survivors of the Soviet armies, especially those who had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, is in Solzhenitsyn's view, the gravest of his crimes. Solzhenitsyn himself fought with distinction for four years on three fronts, was decorated for bravery several times, and rose to the rank of captain, only to be arrested in East Prussia in the middle of a battle in 1945, and sent to Siberia for having criticized Stalin in a letter.

His own eight years in the Gulag Archipelago marked a turning point in Solzhenitsyn's life and consciousness. Ap-

tarian structure of Soviet society. He explicitly opposes revolution in present-day Russia, and everywhere else as well.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

parently before that, his views were those of a rising member of Stalin's newest elite, a fact about which he is as searingly honest as he is about everything else: "I ate my officer's butter with pastry without giving it a thought as to why I had the right to do it, while rank and file soldiers did not. . . ." (In a bid for national support, after the purges of the officer cadre, Stalin had restored the ranks, orders and ceremonial privileges enjoyed by the Czarist army.) "This is what happens when you put epaulets on people's shoulders; they begin to feel like little gods."

One final response prevalent among radicals to the Solzhenitsyn exile (and the expulsions which have followed) needs to be dealt with. That is the response that dismisses all this as a media event with no more, and most likely even less, significance than that of persecuted writers in many countries around the world. Some go so far as to suggest that the interest is even concocted. The "mistakes of the past" cannot be resurrected as contemporary politics, writes one reader of RAMPARTS and leader of the old New Left, who should know better. (How inadequate and even repulsive the expression "mistakes of the past" seems when applied to the Soviet tragedy and its crimes.) As though the political heart of a country could sustain such a succession of blows without feeling the consequences for generations, as though the very effort to silence Solzhenitsyn and Medvedev did not indicate in itself that this is a crucial contemporary issue in the Soviet Union. *To this day,* the Soviet people are not permitted to know the true extent and nature of the crimes that were committed in the Stalin years, and to this day the guilty go unpunished. ("Given the widespread and unrestrained lawlessness that has reigned in our country for many years, and an eight-year campaign of slander and persecution against me," Solzhenitsyn declared in ignoring a court order before his exile, "I refuse to recognize the legality of your summons. Before asking that citizens obey the law, learn how to observe it yourselves. Free the innocent, and punish those guilty of mass murder.")

[REBIRTH OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY?]

The contemporary implications of the struggle in behalf of the Soviet Union's dissenters and political prisoners has been eloquently summarized by the Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov, in the introduction to his new book, *Sakharov Speaks.*

> *In the course of 56 years our country has undergone great shocks, sufferings, and humiliations, the physical annihilation of millions of the best people (best both morally and intellectually), decades of official hypocrisy and demagoguery, of internal and external time-serving. The era of terror, when tortures and special [courts] threatened everyone, when they seized the most devoted servants of the regime simply for the general count and to create an atmosphere of fright and submission—that era is now behind us. But we are still living in the spiritual atmosphere created by that era. Against those few who do not go along with the prevalent practice of compromise, the government uses repression as before. Together with judicial repressions, the most important and decisive role in maintaining this atmosphere of internal and external submission is played by the power of the state, which manipulates all the levers of economic and social control. This, more than anything else, keeps the body and soul of the majority of people in a state of dependence.*

What is at stake in the struggle for the rights of Soviet dissenters and political prisoners is nothing less than the revival of politics in the Soviet Union, and the birth of a true Soviet Left. In the dialogue between Medvedev and Solzhenitsyn (see page 49), we can already see the outlines of the kind of debates that might characterize a Soviet politics liberated from the terror and lies of the Stalinist system and its less destructive but still despotic successors. The present state of affairs is morally corrosive and politically dangerous, as the growing conflict with China reveals. For one of the especially corrosive effects of the suppression of politics in the Soviet Union has been the growth of nationalism as a solidarizing social force. (Ironically, Solzhenitsyn, an almost religious nationalist, provides a healthy dissent from the official Soviet chauvinism towards China. He devotes the major portion of his appeal to the Soviet government to urging the avoidance of war with China—a possibility which he mistakenly attributes to a clash of Marxist ideologies.)

Does the awful record documented in the *Gulag Archipelago* and *Let History Judge,* combined with the failure of de-Stalinization after 20 years of effort, mean that the critics of Bolshevism were right? That the Soviet experiment has failed? That the crimes of Stalin negate all the gains that the revolution has made? For when one gets down to the most fundamental layers of radical consciousness, this is the reason that most leftists remain reluctant to speak out against the crimes and injustices that distort Soviet life and politics at the present time. In short, there is a fear of providing credibility to such views and damaging the revolutionary cause all over the world.

Yet, it should be evident, that *this* is really the dead issue in the current debate, and if anything serves to keep the issue alive, it is the willingness of radicals to accept its terms. The Soviet regime is almost 57 years old. Its gains in the material realm, and in science, public education and health, have been vast—a still-powerful beacon to those in the Third World who have not yet broken the chains of imperialism and capitalist underdevelopment, and who still suffer the "natural" torments of poverty, ignorance, hunger and unnecessary disease.

No one, not even Solzhenitsyn, proposes turning back the clock to 1917 or even making significant changes in the system of social property in the Soviet Union. The Soviet experiment has survived. Its successes and its failures are monumental, but there is no practical scale in which they can be balanced against each other, or made to cancel each other out. The only live issue for the Soviet Union, and for radicals, is the future. Support for the Soviet dissidents, and for every move to establish democratic rights in the Soviet Union and fulfill the promise of October, are acts not of despair about the Soviet past, but of hope for the Soviet future. And hope—for a better society and a better life for humanity—is what radicalism and revolution are about.

David Horowitz is the author of Empire and Revolution *(Vintage) and* The Fate of Midas *(Ramparts Press).*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Soviet hard labor camp in Siberia, 1940s.

Gulag Archipelago

by Roy Medvedev

In the many "waves" of Stalinist repressions, many of us have our own special tragedies. I know, for example, that for A. Tvardovskii it was the "de-Kulakification"—which claimed the life of his father, a hard-working peasant from the poor stratum of that class, a recent veteran of the Red Army, a defender of Soviet power, who was exiled to the other side of the Urals with his entire family. The only one to survive was his oldest son, who had happened to go into the city to study. That was the one who was to become our great poet, A. Tvardovskii. And he once had to deny his father. He wrote about all that in his last poem, "It Is Right to Remember."

For my family, the tragedy was the repressions of 1937 and 1938, in particular the purge of the commanders and commissars of the Red Army. My father, a commissar of a division and a teacher in the military-political academy of the RKKA [Red Army], was one of those who were arrested and perished. Those people were totally devoted to Soviet power, socialism, and the Bolshevik party. As participants in the Civil War, they were romantic heroes in my eyes, and I never believed that they were "enemies of the people."

For Solzhenitsyn this deep, personal tragedy was not his own arrest but the cruel and terrible fate of millions of Soviet prisoners of war, Solzhenitsyn's contemporaries, the generation of October, who made up a large part of our professional army in June of 1941.

This army was shattered and surrounded in the first days and weeks of the war because of the criminal miscalculations of Stalin, who was unable to prepare either the army or the country for war; because of Stalin's absurd and stupid orders on the first day of the war and then abandoning his post in the following days of the first week of the war; and because of the lack of experienced commanders and commissars, who had been liquidated by Stalin.

More than three million soldiers and officers landed in prison camps, and one million others were later imprisoned in "pressure cookers" near Vyazma, near Kharkov, on the Kerch Peninsula, and near Volkhov. But the Stalin government betrayed its soldiers even when they were in captivity, by refusing to recognize Russia's signature on the international convention on prisoners of war. As a result of this, no aid went to Soviet prisoners through the International Red Cross, and they were condemned to die of hunger in the German concentration camps.

Those who survived were betrayed again by Stalin after the victory when they were all arrested

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and went to swell the population of the "Gulag Archipelago." This triple betrayal of Stalin's soldiers is what Solzhenitsyn considers the worst, gravest crime of the Stalinist regime—a crime unprecedented in the thousand-year history of Russian governments. "I felt," Solzhenitsyn writes, "that this history of several million Russian prisoners would hold me forever, the way a pin holds a cockroach."

Only a tenth part of our prisoners joined the Vlasovite units, the police units, the work battalions, the ranks of the "voluntary" helpers of the Wehrmacht. The majority of those who joined sincerely hoped that once they had gotten food and arms, they could go over to the side of the Soviet army or the partisans. These were, as it soon turned out, false hopes. The chances for escape were too few.

Solzhenitsyn does not justify and praise those desperate and unfortunate people. But he asks the tribunal of their descendants to take into consideration certain extenuating circumstances. These young and often illiterate fellows, mostly from the countryside, were demoralized by the defeat of their army; and they were repreatedly told in the concentration camps: "Stalin has denounced you" and "Stalin doesn't give a damn about you." And they could see very well that this was true and that death by starvation awaited them in the German camps.

Virtually all the "Vlasovites" were condemned to 25 years in the labor camps. They were not affected by any amnesty, and almost all of them died in prison or in exile in Siberia. I also think that for most of them this was too severe a punishment, because Stalin bore a far greater guilt in this tragedy than anyone else.

[SOLZHENITSYN ON STALIN]

In several places, Solzhenitsyn's book has deep and exact observations about the personality of Stalin, which appear, however, almost as asides. The author considers Stalin's personal role in our country's disaster and even in creating the "Archipelago" so unimportant that most of his remarks on Stalin are not included in the essential text but in short comments and notes.

Thus, in his notes to the next-to-last page, Solzhenitsyn writes: "In the years before I was imprisoned and while in prison, I also long considered that Stalin had given a fateful direction to the course of the Soviet state. And how much in fact has our ship of state changed its course? He did add a personal note of dismal stupidity, petty despotism, and self-adulation. But otherwise he simply followed in the path that had already been marked out."

Solzhenitsyn speaks very briefly in the second chapter about the waves of repression in 1937-38 (why go into detail about "what has already been described at length and will be repeated again many times"?)—when the main cadres of the party leadership and intelligentsia, the commanding and political officers of the Red Army, most of the management personnel in big industry, and the Communist Youth leadership were annihilated in the prisons of the NKVD; when the top levels of Soviet administration, the top levels of the NKVD itself, the foreign service, and so forth, were changed by force. He writes (once again in a note): "Today, having seen the Chinese 'cultural revolution' (which also followed 17 years after the decisive victory), we can surmise that there is very likely a historical law here. Even Stalin himself begins to seem only a blind and accidental agent."

It is hard to agree with such a view of Stalin's role and his significance in the tragedy of the 1930s. Of course, it would be wrong to completely divorce the era of Stalinist terror from the preceding revolutionary era. There was no such sharp dividing line between these two periods, not in 1937, as many think, nor in 1934, as Khrushchev claimed, nor in 1929, as Solzhenitsyn himself thought, nor in 1924, when Lenin died and the Trotskyist opposition was defeated, nor in 1922, when Stalin was elected general secretary of the RPK(B) [the Bolshevik Party].. Nonetheless, in each of these years, and in a few others, there were very substantial changes in policy that require special study.

Of course, there is a line of continuity between the party that took power in October 1917 and the one leading the USSR in 1937, in 1947, in 1957, and in 1967, when Solzhenitsyn completed *Gulag Archipelago.* But this thread of continuity does not mean that the party did not change. Stalin did not follow "in the footsteps." Even in the early years of the revolution, he did not always follow the direction set by Lenin. And later on, with every stride, he carried the party away from this path.

In many respects, Stalinism represented the negation and bloody extermination of all revolutionary forces. In a certain sense, it represents a real counterrevolution. Of course, I by no means think that the Leninist heritage and the Leninist period in the history of our revolution do not require the most serious critical analysis.

Solzhenitsyn does not set himself the task of studying the phenomenon of Stalinism, its nature, peculiarities, its development, history, its premises. Such a notion as Stalinism probably does not exist for Solzhenitsyn, who feels that Stalin "only followed in the path that had already been marked out." What might be called historical background is completely absent from Solzhenitsyn's work.

The book opens with a chapter called "Arrest," through which the author emphasizes immediately that he is studying and describing only the world of prisoners, the world of outcasts, the mysterious and terrible country of Gulag: its geography, its social system, its written and unwritten laws, its population, its customs, its rulers, and its subjects.

And Solzhenitsyn has no great need of historical background, be-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DON'T CUT OUT YOUR WINE THIS SUMMER. JUST CUT OUT GALLO!

I enclose $ _____ to help the farmworkers survive the coming weeks or months without a working wage.

☐ I would like to help with the boycott of grapes and iceberg lettuce. Please send me more information.

Name_____
Address_____
City_____

Make Checks Payable to "United Farm Workers Union" and mail to:
United Farm Workers Union
P.O. Box 62, Keene, Ca. 93531

Call (415) 864-5613 for more information

Summer's coming. Time to sit back and relax with a bottle of your favorite wine.

We hope it's not Gallo wine, though. Because Gallo rips off its workers. The nation's farmworkers built a union to fight for their rights, but Gallo is trying to destroy that union. You can help stop them.

Don't stop drinking wine, but please don't drink Gallo wine. There are plenty of good, inexpensive union wines to choose from — Italian Swiss Colony, Almaden, Christian Brothers and more.

Try some of them this summer. You'll feel a lot better.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cause his Gulag Archipelago came into being in 1918 and has been developing since then according to its own laws.

This one-sidedness, which, it is true, is relieved not infrequently by profound comments, is maintained throughout the volume. Of course, the author has every right to take this approach. Even without uttering a word about Stalinism, and seemingly denying the validity of such a concept altogether, by his literary study of one of the main components of the Stalinist system, Solzhenitsyn has greatly aided the examination of the whole criminal and inhuman system of Stalinism.

Solzhenitsyn is wrong in claiming that in its essential features this system has preserved itself to our day. But it has not yet completely disappeared from our social, political, and cultural life. Solzhenitsyn's book deals a very powerful blow to Stalinism and neo-Stalinism. In this respect, none of us has accomplished more than Solzhenitsyn.

[SOLZHENITSYN ON LENIN]

Of all the accusations that Solzhenitsyn raises either directly or indirectly today against Lenin, I will dwell on only two. Solzhenitsyn thinks that in 1917 Lenin insisted on carrying out a new-fangled "proletarian, socialist revolution" in Russia despite the fact that the Russian people were not ready for such a revolution and had no need of it. He also considers that Lenin wrongfully used terrorist methods in struggling against his political opponents.

It is easy to sort out a revolutionist's errors 50 years after the revolution. But the first socialist revolution was inevitably a step into the unknown. There was nothing to compare it with. Its leaders had nobody's experience to borrow from. In that case, it was impossible to calculate and weigh everything in advance. The basic decision and methods of revolutionary struggle can be adopted and corrected only in the course of events. Lenin understood all this very well and often repeated Napoleon's words: "First we have to join combat and then we will see." A revolution of this type could not be carried out without risks--without the risk of defeat and without the risk of errors. But failing to give the signal for revolution when the possibility appears is also a great risk for a revolutionary party.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Lenin and the Soviet government headed by him made many miscalculations and errors that prolonged the Civl War in Russia and increased its cruelty. These miscalculations delayed the transition to NEP and increased the economic dislocation of the early years. Lenin's hopes for a rapid development of revolution in Europe, which would then have given Russia technical and educational assistance, were not realized. The Soviet government went too far in restricting democracy in our country.

This list of miscalculations and errors could be continued. But no computer can show that the armed uprising of October 24, 1917, was historically premature, or that all the subsequent crimes of the Stalinist regime flowed from this fateful error of Lenin.

After Lenin's death also, the road ahead for the party had not been traveled by anyone before. Unfortunately, those who replaced Lenin at the head of the party did not have his intelligence, his knowledge, or his ability even in the most difficult circumstances to find the correct solution. Therefore, they failed to take advantage of even a small part of the possibilities the October Revolution opened up for a rapid advance to a genuine socialist and democratic society. Today we are still far from these goals. Stalin not only did not "only follow the path that had already been marked out" but, to judge from the steps Lenin indicated in his last remarks, Stalin very quickly went off that path.

In the conditions of revolution and of civil war no government can avoid using some forms of violence. But the most objective historian would have to say that a reasonable limit of violence was exceeded many times even in the early years of Soviet power. Starting in the summer of 1918, our country was swept by a wave of both White and Red terror. A major part of these acts of mad violence was absolutely unnecessary and even harmful from a rational standpoint and in terms of the class struggle. This terror only increased the cruelty of both sides, prolonged the war, and gave rise to new needless violence. Unfortunately, in the early years of the revolution even Lenin said the word "shoot" much more often than the developing situation required.

Solzhenitsyn does not distort when he quotes from Lenin. But his comments are always negative. But hardly anyone today would approve of the order that Lenin gave to the chairman of the Nizhgorod provincial soviet, R. Federov: "Strain every effort to apply mass terror immediately, *shoot and clear out* all the hordes of prostitutes who are consorting with soldiers, former officers and the like." Clear out, yes, but why kill women?

Such abuses of power are deplorable; they must be condemned. Nevertheless, this terror in Civil War times did not predetermine the frightful terror of the Stalin era.

Lenin made not a few mistakes; he himself acknowledged many of them on frequent occasions. An honest historian must certainly note all these errors and abuses of power. Nonetheless, the general result of Lenin's work, I am convinced, is positive. Solzhenitsyn thinks otherwise. That is his right. In a socialist country everyone must be able to express his or her views and opinions about the activity of any political leader.

[CORRUPTION OF POWER]

Unfortunately, it is not only the most honest and courageous persons of their time who become revolutionists. Also attracted to revolutions, especially in periods of rise, are the vain, the ambitious, the self-seeking, people with cold hearts and unclean hands, as well as many

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The fuel crisis will require some sacrifice by all Americans."

—RICHARD NIXON

After-tax oil profits—1973
(millions of dollars)

	First nine months of 1973	Percentage increase over 1972
Exxon	1,656	59.4
Mobil	571	38.3
Texaco	839	34.9
Gulf	570	60.1
Standard Calif.	560	39.7
Standard Indiana	390	32.2
Shell	253	40.6
Continental	153	23.4
Atlantic-Richfield	178	36.9
Total all nine	5,170	**45.2**
All oil companies	52,500	**30.3**

Well, almost all.

Tired of paying for the oil industry's mistakes? Do something about it. Write your elected representatives and insist on an energy policy based on public need, not corporate greed.

ENERGY SHOULD BE EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Prepared by Public Interest Communications

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who are simply stupid and narrow-minded, fanatics capable of anything. But that is by no means a reason to condemn all revolutions and all revolutionists.

Another thing must be taken into account. For revolutionists, the main test is not prison or banishment to a labor camp, not dashing charges under the fire of the White Guards, not hunger and cold; but power, and power that in the initial period will be almost unlimited. It has long been known that power often distorts and corrupts the best people. It must be noted with regret that very many of the Bolsheviks did not pass this test of power.

Solzhenitsyn understands the corrupting effect that power has on people. He has described his own case with complete frankness. After years of a hard and hungry life as a soldier, he writes, after years of drill and exhausting parading, after suffering many injustices at the hands of the most junior commanders, he completely forgot about all of this as soon as he became a lieutenant and then a captain. In his mind he began to set himself off from the soldiers under him. The memory of a front-line soldier's hard life became dimmer and dimmer. Increasingly he came to see himself as something apart from these men, a different kind of being, a member of a different caste.

He unthinkingly took advantage of all his officer's privileges, spoke in a condescending tone to men old enough to be his father or even his grandfather, harassed his orderly, and sometimes even was so severe with the men that an old colonel thought he had to give him a lecture right in the middle of an inspection.

"It turned out," Solzhenitsyn admits, "that the officers epaulets that had been trembling, swaying on my shoulders for no more than two years had cast a golden, poisonous dust into the empty space between my ribs." What is more, Solzhenitsyn almost became an officer in the NKVD. They had convinced him to go to the NKVD school; and, if they had pressed a little harder, he would have accepted.

Solzhenitsyn is merciless with himself. "I considered myself selfless and self-sacrificing. And at the same time, I was thoroughly prepared for the role of a hangman. And if I had gone to the NKVD school in Yezhov's time, maybe under Beria I would have grown to find myself right at home."

"Apparently crime," as Solzhenitsyn writes, "is also a matter of a threshold, like certain chemical reactions. Yes, for their whole lives people waver and are buffeted back and forth between good and evil; they slip, fall, struggle to their feet, repent, and once again lose their way. But as long as they do not overstep the threshold of crime, they can turn back. But when by the extent of wrongdoing or as a result of rank and absolute power they pass over this threshold, they step outside the bounds of humanity. And there may be no turning back."

"Let any reader who thinks that this book is going to be a political indictment shut it right now," Solzhenitsyn writes in another place. "If it were only that easy! If it were just that there were some evil persons, people who have committed evil acts, and had to be identified and eliminated. But the line dividing good and evil runs through the heart of every human being. And who is going to eliminate part of his own heart? In the lifetime of one heart, this line shifts even within it, sometimes pressed by exultant evil, at other times opening room for the flowering of good.

"One person in different ages and in different situations can be a completely different individual. At times, he may be close to being a devil, at others to being a saint. But the name doesn't change and we attribute everything to him." In this profound observation of Solzhenitsyn's we see at least a partial explanation of the drama and the moral fall of many Bolsheviks, who before they became victims of Stalin's terror were not unimportant gears in the oppressive machine that had been created.

[WHAT IS TO BE DONE?]

But if power distorts and corrupts people, if politics, as Solzhenitsyn thinks, "is not a science but an empirical field that cannot be described by mathematics and is even subject to ego and blind passions," if all professional politicians are only "boils on the neck of society preventing it from freely moving its head and arms," then what is it we should strive for? How should we build a just human society?

Solzhenitsyn speaks about that in passing. He puts his ideas in parentheses without explaining or interpreting them in detail. From these brief comments, it is clear that he believes the most suitable social structure would be one "headed by those who can direct the activities of society most intelligently."

That means primarily engineers and scientists (workers, in Solzhenitsyn's opinion, are only helpers of engineers in industry). But who will offer moral leadership in society?

It follows from Solzhenitsyn's reasoning that moral guidance cannot be provided by any kind of political doctrine but only by religion. Only faith in God can serve as an underpinning for human morality, and it was always deeply believing people who were best able to endure all the privations of Stalin's labor camps and prisons.

But these thoughts smell of utopianism. They are not even very original. Solzhenitsyn has dealt mighty blows to all kinds of political deception. He rightly calls on the Soviet people and above all the youth not to promote falsehood, not to cooperate with lying. However, it is necessary not only to convince people of the untruth of a political doctrine but also to offer them the truth, to convince them of the truthfulness of some view.

But for the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people, the truth is no longer and can never be religion. And the youth of the twentieth century are hardly likely to find guidance in faith in God. Moreover,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

how can the engineers and specialists take control of the affairs of society, or even of the economy, without politics and without political struggle? But even if this were possible, how can such a society be prevented from degenerating into a dictatorship of the technocrats? And wouldn't turning the moral guidance of society over to religion lead to the worst kind of theocracy?

Speaking of the repressions of 1937, Solzhenitsyn writes: "Maybe 1937 was *necessary* in order to show the worthlessness of the whole world view that they strutted around drugging themselves with while they were plundering Russia, wrecking her bulwarks, trampling on her shrines." He is talking, as can easily be seen, about Marxism. But Solzhenitsyn is wrong. Marxism did not produce the Stalinist deformation, and overcoming Stalinism will not mean the collapse of Marxism and scientific socialism. And Solzhenitsyn knows —he says it in another place—that religious ideology facilitated the Inquisition's two centuries of savagery, the burning and torturing of heretics.

I find these ideals of Solzhenitsyn quite unappealing. I am profoundly convinced that for the foreseeable future our society must be built on a combination of socialism and democracy; and that it is precisely the advance of Marxism and scientific communism that will make possible the creation of the most just human society.

Engineers and specialists must have a far greater weight in our society than they have today. But this by no means excludes a scientifically organized political leadership. It assumes, in particular, the abolition of all sorts of privileges for leaders, reasonable limitations on power, self-management wherever possible, an increased role for organs of local government, the separation of executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, limitations on the time any political mandate can be exercised, full freedom of speech and conscience—including, of course, freedom to propagate religion, freedom to organize and freedom of assembly for individuals and groups of all political persuasions, free elections with full freedom for all parties and groups to put up candidates for every post, and so forth.

Only such a society, which of course would also be free of the exploitation of one person by another and would be based on collective ownership of all the principal means of material production, can guarantee the unhindered and balanced progress of all humanity and its individual members.

As long as this genuine socialist democracy does not exist, our country will continue to develop in a slow and unbalanced way, and such giants as Solzhenitsyn will not often appear among us.

Before his arrest, Solzhenitsyn considered himself a Marxist. Having passed all of the cruel trials that are described with such merciless truth in *Gulag Archipelago,* Solzhenitsyn lost his faith in Marxism. That is a matter of his conscience and convictions. A sincere change of opinion should be understood and respected.

Solzhenitsyn has betrayed or sold out no one. Today he is an opponent of Marxism, and he does not hide that.

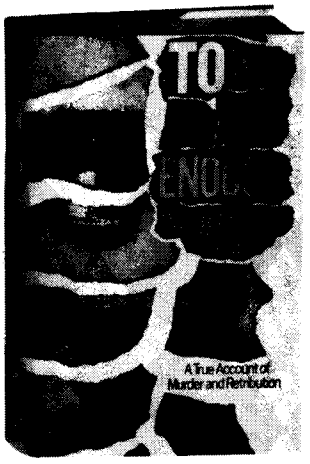
Marxism will not, of course, collapse because it has lost one of its former adherents. I even think that Marxism can only benefit from a polemic with opponents such as Solzhenitsyn.

It is much better to have an opponent like this than "defenders" like Sergei Mikhalkov or Aleksandr Chakovskii. A "scientific" ideology that had to hold people by force or the threat of force alone would be worth nothing. Fortunately genuine scientific socialism does not need compulsion.

Roy Medvedev is the author of Let History Judge *(Knopf), and is living in the Soviet Union. His brother Zhores is a distinguished biochemist whose passport was recently revoked by the Soviet government and who now lives in England.*

Translation copyright © 1974 by Intercontinental Press.

"Both a cliffhanger and a moving human document . . .



this compelling book

tells the story of Don White, a young black murderer, his trial, his rehabilitation in prison and his fight to overturn a death sentence . . . A noteworthy book indeed." — *Publishers Weekly*

"There is a compelling authenticity to this version of the old tale of the prisoner who finds a new and meaningful life while waiting on Death Row. . . . the objective journalistic style successfully skirts bathos to make White's redemption a persuasive brief against the death penalty. The Death Row scenes, particularly the last hours of another condemned man, have a chilling immediacy that might give pause to any ardent proponent of capital punishment."
— *Kirkus Reviews*

"*To Die is Not Enough* is an absorbing account which documents my thesis that the death penalty serves no rational purpose. . . . a most important contribution."
— ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

To Die Is Not Enough

By DONALD DELANO WRIGHT

Photos • $5.95 at your bookstore

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
Publishers of
The American Heritage Dictionary

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINEWORKERS

(*From page 41*)

[LIKE OLD TIMES]

Just as perplexing—but admittedly more complex—has been the Miller regime's reluctance to involve itself in the legislative battle in Congress to turn out a strong bill to regulate the strip mining of coal. The union position is made more ironic by the fact that Miller used to be an abolitionist, even giving congressional testimony before his election about the terrible social and environmental consequences that rampant stripping has rained down on the Appalachian mountains. That early abolitionist stance was in many ways a political plus for Miller. It brought him the support of mountain people who were fed up with the strippers. It earned the backing of underground miners (90 percent of the UMW men work in the deep mines) who for good reason see themselves threatened by growing amounts of strip-mined coal. It even brought campaign contributions from Montana ranchers whose lovely country is ticketed for destruction.

Obviously, Miller could not commit the UMW to abolition, for strip mining is simply too vital to union operations. While only about 10 percent of its members work in the strip mines, they produce something like 40 percent of all union coal. Every ton of union-mined coal is taxed 80 cents by the UMW to finance its welfare and retirement fund, providing a yearly income of some $200 million. So without strip-mined coal royalties, the welfare fund goes down the tubes. The trap runs even deeper, and it has a huge bearing on the existence of the UMW.

The simple mathematics of the coal reserve picture would suggest that strip mining is not the way the country will satisfy its long-range energy needs. Government experts say that only about three percent of the U.S. coal reserve is strippable. The rest, if it is to be used, must be deep-mined in the traditional fashion. But coal company visionaries don't think that far ahead. Stripping is quick, highly productive, comfortable, and vastly profitable. It is made even easier by weak state enforcement and the absence of federal requirements to make the operators restore the land to a usable state, stop polluting rivers and ruining mountains. The planners see a day when the Upper Great Plains and the southwestern states will be dotted with huge electricity-generating plants fueled by coal that is strip mined on the spot. They're also talking about other plants to convert strip coal into natural gas and petroleum. The largely untapped strippable western coal reserves are enormous—at least 30 billion tons—and the companies are racing to get them under lease as quickly as they can. It's a new and awesome day they're planning for the West, and Miller's UMW, as one anti-strip mine lobbyist put it, "wants to be on the first unit train going West."

Miller and his people see the evidence: the oil companies and the consortiums that control the western coal are going to strip, and they are going to do it on a large scale. That means in the Miller view that the union, to survive, has to tag along to the West and try to get the stripminers under UMW contract. And that has been the signal for Miller to go limp on tough regula-

Mining camp in Harlan, Ky., deserted by striking miners.

Wide World Photo

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion—it enflames the strippers who already are UMW members, it enflames potential UMW members and it doesn't please the corporate executives Miller some day may be negotiating with.

Whether the UMW can win or even hold its own in this situation is an open question, anyway. The heavy equipment and construction unions that already represent most of the western strippers have a foot in the door: they don't have a welfare fund royalty to worry about; they already have relationships with management; their members have no kind of fealty to or identification with the underground miners of the UMW.

Meanwhile, the first tremors of the industry shift to the West are being felt in the underground coalfields of Appalachia. Some companies have shut down West Virginia deep mines, claiming they are not profitable or that the sulfur content of the coal is too high to meet air pollution control requirements. Yet electrical generating plants of the American Electric Power Co. in the coal-rich state have conducted test burns of coal carried in . . . from western strip mines. To complete the groin kick, jobless West Virginia miners' power rates go up. State utility law permits a direct pass-through for cost increases a power company incurs when buying fuel from its own mines and transporting it in its own rail cars and barges.

Instead of dancing to the corporate tune, the UMW had an opportunity to exert influence on Congress to restrict the westward tide by writing a strip-mine law that would force the industry to more thoroughly internalize its costs and equalize the economic imbalance with deep mining. The result could have been a new impulse for underground mining. But when Congress took up the strip-mine issue in 1973, the reformed UMW had less and less to say about it. Miller declined to testify before House and Senate committees. Under pressure from his staff when the Senate was about to cave in to industry demands for a weakening of reclamation standards for contour stripping in mountainous areas, Miller fired off a strong letter that helped keep the bill intact. The scene then shifted to the House, but no strong letters, no lobbying, no public demands were forthcoming from Miller when the electrical utilities, the mining companies and the Nixon Administration mounted a mighty effort to ruin the House bill. Chief lobbyist Nelson was sitting in the West Virginia Senate. Miller preferred not to discuss the situation with the press. In fact, he even ordered a routine news report on the strip mine bill removed from the *UMW Journal* and laid down on edict against any further such stories.

Sadly, it seemed like old times . . .

Ward Sinclair is chief of the Washington Bureau for the Louisville Courier-Journal *and the* Louisville Times. *He has covered the coal industry and the UMW for several years.*

LOCKHEED

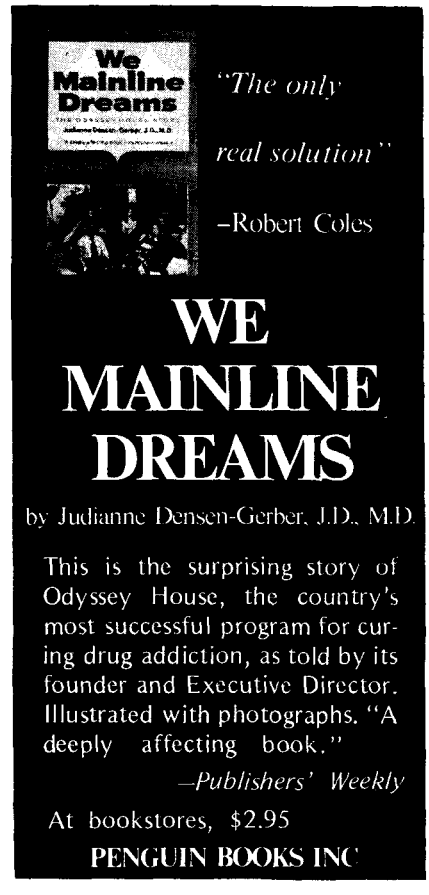
(*From page 24*)

Jack Vollbrecht, president of Aerojet-General Corporation, a medium-sized aerospace company, warned us how it would be in 1971 testimony before the House Appropriations Committee:

> *I just tell you, gentlemen, you have a good opportunity to make an example of a contractor who is a bellwether in this industry either way and the industry will read it exactly the way you treat them. It is common talk among the industry and they are waiting to see, and don't think they won't read those signs. There is no way you can cover them up. So if you want to continue having troubles with an industry who will come right back and say, "Well, what are you treating me different for? What is different about me? My problems are just as real to me as Lockheed's are to them." I think that is fair. I would expect to be able to come in and say, 'My God, we made a horrible mistake,' and I'd want to know why you are not going to bail me out. If you say no, I want to know why.*

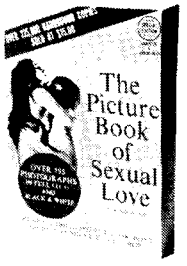
Once again the forecast was accurate. The public precedent of non-enforcement of Lockheed's contracts became the rule for giant firms. For example, one of the Navy's pet dinosaurs, Grumman Aerospace, generated stupendous cost overruns on their F-14 fighter planes. The solution of shaping up was rejected, and studies suggesting how this might be done were suppressed. More money was the solution, and the Lockheed precedent showed how to get it. Citing lessons he had learned during the "Lockheed debate," erstwhile conservative, free-enterpriser Senator James Buckley advocated "welfare handouts" for his constituent giant, Grumman. In a March 9,1972, letter to then-Secretary of the Navy John Chafee, Buckley wrote, "It is my view that the F-14 contract is one of those contracts in which the understanding implicit in the 'golden handshake' should be honored." Buckley went on to comment, "It would be most short-sighted if the financial well-being of a major contributor to our national defense were placed at risk . . ."

The big companies, secure now in their indolence, react with total unconcern to news of huge increases in the costs of their Pentagon contracts. Just recently Congressman Les Aspin disclosed a $350 million overrun on destroyers being built by Litton Industries, one of the least productive of the big eaters. That's true, Litton responded blandly, but that's not all. Going beyond Aspin's figures, Litton said there would be an additional $485


We Mainline Dreams
"The only real solution"
–Robert Coles
WE MAINLINE DREAMS
by Judianne Densen-Gerber, J.D., M.D.
This is the surprising story of Odyssey House, the country's most successful program for curing drug addiction, as told by its founder and Executive Director. Illustrated with photographs. "A deeply affecting book."
–Publishers' Weekly
At bookstores, $2.95
PENGUIN BOOKS INC

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PICTURE BOOK OF SEXUAL LOVE

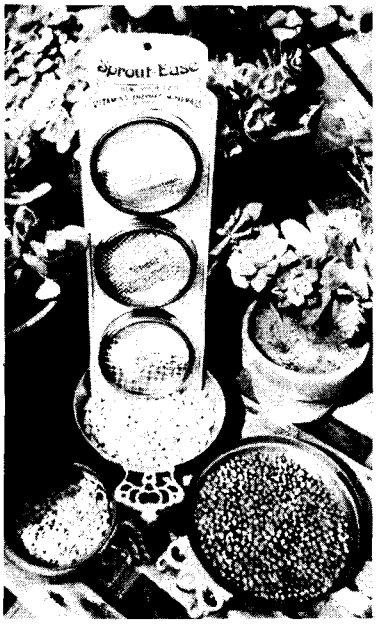


One of the most beautiful and practical books on physical love ever published. Over 195 photographs in color and black-and-white of a young nude couple in a variety of pre-coital and coital positions. Explores the whole field of physical love including the building of sexual power, sexual stimulation techniques for building up passion and much more. Over 225,000 hard-bound copies sold at $15.00, now available in soft cover for just $4.95. 320 pages. Satisfaction guaranteed or your money back.

Send $4.95 to: Population Planning
Dept. RA-4 , 105 N. Columbia, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

Grow Your Own Fresh Sprouts

Easy — Simple Clean



Nutritious — with enzymes, minerals, Vitamins C, B, E and A. Grown right in your own kitchen without soil or plant food. Great in salads, sandwiches, omelets, etc. Fun for young sprouters, too.

3 graded screens, full instructions, and 3 (organically grown) seed samples. **$2.50** ppd. For screens only — **$2.00.** California residents please add sales tax. Send check or M. O. to

The Homestead Act, Dept. 35
2009 Haste St., #E
Berkeley, CA 94704

million or so for a total overrun of at least $835 million on their $1.8 billion contract. Litton claims the original contract figures were "theoretical" and the real intention of the Navy was to allow them to adjust their price to reflect their actual costs.

The other big spenders also copied Lockheed's successful tactic of threatening to die and stink up the place. Just as soon as it was clear that Lockheed's ploy would work, others followed suit. During the maneuvering for the B-1 bomber business in 1970, supporters and beneficiaries of the huge North American Aviation (now Rockwell International) complex in Los Angeles bought full-page newspaper ads bewailing the possible demise of the community dinosaur if the rest of the United States didn't ship out a few billion: "Now, we are about to lose one of the giants in our industry; a giant that has recognized, fostered and benefited from our existence; a giant that has been a definite measurable link to the strong defense of our country many times in the past. We will miss this giant."

In addition to addressing their complaint to President Nixon, Vice-President Agnew, Melvin Laird, David Packard, Sam Yorty and others, North American supporters announced plans to pray, presumably to God, for the B-1 bomber contract to go to their beast. Naturally, they got it. And now the B-1 program threatens to become the first weapon system with infinite cost. Literally, there seems to be no end to the cost of existing pieces of the program nor to new add-ons needed to round out the complete system. Rockwell was also tossed the Space Shuttle project, a huge NASA boondoggle. Taken together, the life cycle costs of the B-1 and Space Shuttle programs will exceed the cost of the Vietnam War.

Acceptance of the absurd notion that dinosaur feeding keeps us both safe and rich requires that we abandon logic and adopt the dinosaurs as tribal totems in a kind of primitive religion. The high priests of this religion are establishment economists, predominantly Keynesians. Most Keynesian economists, including Lord Keynes himself, have professed admiration for military spending as an engine for pump priming and redistribution of income. In the 1930s Keynesians of the mindlessly callous variety looked on in envy at the works of their economic colleagues in Italy and Germany. They especially admired the *Wehrwirtschaft,* the military spending economy put together by German economist Hjalmar Schacht for his boss, Adolf Hitler. With the dread Bolshevik just over the horizon and millions unemployed at home, Hitler, Schacht and associates had little difficulty drumming up support for unlimited arms spending. The trouble was, these gangsters were on a one-way street. Germany's seeming prosperity was an illusion, based as it was on ever-increasing debt, with wages and some prices held down only by force and with the real "redistribution" of the country's assets going from the common folk to the Krupps and other smokestack barons.

There are both similarities and differences evident in the comparison of our own political economy with that of pre-World War II Germany. The economic theology is the same. The same foreign devil is invoked when needed to overcome domestic agnosticism. The patterns of redistribution of income and wealth are similar. Our tax-spend pattern transfers billions of dollars from the average taxpayers' pockets to corporate coffers. In recognition of the fact that our dinosaur corporations' employees are an indispensable political constituency, they are also taken care of in the redistribution plan. The average cost of "making a job" in the aerospace industry is more than twice the average taxpayer's income.

The differences, I think, are rooted in the vast superiority of our present economic strength compared to that of pre-war Germany. The economic illness of pre-war Germany was concealed only by secrecy and fraud, and salvation depended in the end on exploitation of conquered foreign populations. In contrast, our dinosaur-feeding leaders have a much handier colonial population. The people marked for highest priority exploitation are not masses of ignorant, troublesome, non-productive peasants in underdeveloped countries, but rather the most productive and easily managed subject population in the history of the world, the United States taxpayers. □

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

(*From page 4*)

for economists to that of the AEA. Without URPE, radical economists would be isolated; with it they can continue to grow and develop the analyses necessary to understand capitalism and where our economic system can and must go from here to provide a world of equality for all.

Mimi Sternberg
Marv Sternberg
Albany, N.Y.

Editors Note:

For more information about URPE or the *Review*, write to URPE, 2503 Student Activities Bldg., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mi 48104.

Editors:

Though it is hard to separate incompetence from political discrimination, Lawrence Lifshultz [*Ramparts*, April 1974] is doubtless correct that there are certain costs associated with nnonconformity. This is as true of those who think there are too many government barriers between people who want to trade something as it is of those who think unlimited government authority is a great and "radical" idea. The prevailing standard is not to offend the Establishment. Those who are "in" make sure their critics stay out.

Murray Rothbard, the capitalist-anarchist who has written for *Ramparts*, is relatively fortunate to be stuck at Brooklyn Polytech. His teacher, Ludwig von Mises, was never able to get a permanent position at any American university. And it is, as Robert Lekachman once wrote, a "professional scandal" that Milton Friedman (or George Stigler) has never won a Nobel prize. Like the research grants, the prizes all go to the Harvard types for saying that we need more of the same. Likewise, none of the Federal Reserve's many critics has been considered for appointment to the Fed.

Lifshultz makes these points indirectly by quoting a department head to the effect that "the Chicago types . . . are as much a pain in the ass as the radicals." And from the anecdote about Simon Rottenberg's troubles, the reader might not guess that Rottenberg is a libertarian.

Though Paul Sweezy may have had some trouble cracking the *New York Times'* symposium on capitalism (he was too late), his essay *is* included in Leonard Silk's resulting anthology, *Capitalism: The Moving Target*. At the risk of sounding paranoid, it might be noted that the anthology does not include a single member of the Chicago-UCLA-Rochester-Washington-Virginia Polytech school of thought.

It has long been an axiom among libertarians, as well as New Left historians, that special interests manipulate government subsidies and regulations to increase their profits. Unlike their New Left counterparts, however, libertarians don't expect much from a change of men (or "systems"). In this view, Galbraith's "emancipation of the State" is naive. The solution is emancipation *from* the State.

Alan Reynolds
Associate Editor
National Review
New York, N.Y.

[TYRANNY OF LANGUAGE]

Editors:

Nice that Edgar Friedenberg is getting off on the works of R. D. Laing [*Ramparts*, April 1974], but it's more than a shame when he uses "man" and "men" as synonyms for human and people. ("This is not to imply that men ought not to fight evil and social injustice. . . ." etc.) We're sure old habits can be hard to break, but that's no excuse.

Mary A. England
Chris Schleh
Norman Solomon
Cathy Waechter
Billy Wilde
Eugene, Oregon

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE

Please include a Ramparts address label whenever you write us about your subscription.

ATTACH LABEL HERE

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

☐ 1 Year $12.00
☐ 2 Years $21.00
☐ New Order ☐ Renewal
Payment must be enclosed
☐ Change My Address to:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

All subscription correspondence should be sent to:

Ramparts, *2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California 94704*

Read the HEALTH/PAC BULLETIN

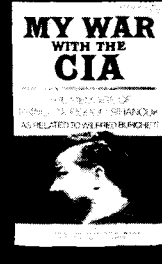
Articles about:

- National Health Insurance
- Prison Health
- Women's Health
- Health in China
- Occupational Health and Safety
- Federal Health Policy

HEALTH/PAC is a research organization which has analyzed the American health system since 1968. Subscriptions to the Bulletin are $7 a year. Write to:

HEALTH/PAC
558 Capp Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

17 Murray Street
New York, N.Y. 10007



"Valuable and intriguing"
–Noam Chomsky

MY WAR with the CIA

The Memoirs of
Prince Norodom Sihanouk
as related to Wilfred Burchett

"Even the most cynical reader will be shocked by Prince Sihanouk's remarkable account of what the CIA did over the years to his country."
– Richard A. Falk,
Princeton University

At bookstores, $1.95

PENGUIN BOOKS INC

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

PERSONALS

SLEEP-LEARNING-HYPNOTISM! Books tapes, equipment. Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-RM, Olympia, Washington 98501.

JAPANESE CORRESPONDENCE, FRIENDSHIP! Lovely girls' photographs, details, brochure. $1.00. Inter-Pacific, Box 304-RT, Birmingham, Michigan 48012.

MEET YOUR IDEAL MATE. Computerized Matching, Nationwide, only $15. Free Questionnaire. Team, 1270 Broadway, NYC 10001.

Insurance offered altruistically. Auto, renters, business and life. G. D. "Jack" Martin, 415-632-2211, 6736 MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, Ca. 94605. California residents only.

PRIMAL FEELING CENTER OF NEW ENGLAND, INC. . week individual intensive, followed by groups twice a week. For info and application write: RFD 2, Emerson Road, Milford, N. H. 03055. Or call (603) 673-4666.

WHAT'S YOUR GOAL IN LIFE? Considering the Catholic Priesthood? If so — I would like to hear from you. Write — Rev. J. Cavanaugh, 2249 Shore Road, Linwood, N. J. 08221.

JOHN CIESSLAR ("Crazy Donald") contact Steve Wagner or Dan Slick, Box 21, Goleta, California 93017.

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

ENGINEERS: Free introductory copy of SPARK magazine. Write: Committee for Social Responsibility in Engineering, 475 Riverside Drive, NYC 10027.

IMPEACH CAPITALISM! Nixon's only one cancer of an obsolescent system. We need SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION. Why? What? How? Read "THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC," a DIFFERENT magazine. Six issues for depreciating $2.00. Send no money now. Write immediately Box 825-A, N. Y., N. Y. 10010.

NEWS FROM CHINA every month thru 1974. Subscribe to: China Reconstructs (a family magazine in English) air mail $3, Peking Review (a political weekly) air mail $4.50, China Pictorial $4. Chinese Literature $4. Free samples on request. CHINA BOOKS & PERIODICALS, Dept. R., (3 locations) 2929-24th St., San Francisco, Ca. 94110; 125 - 5th Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10003; 900 Armitage Ave., Chicago, Il. 60614. FREE CATALOGUE.

OUT OF PRINT BOOKS. Send want lists. Bookdealer, 39 No. Browning Ave., Tenafly, N.J. 07670. Dept. OP

PUBLISH your book! Join our successful authors: publicity, advertising, promotion, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for free manuscript report and detailed booklet. Carlton Press (Dept. VOR), 84 Fifth Ave., New York 10011.

LIBERATION: WOMEN'S, MEN'S, GAYS', KIDS'. Free book, poster catalog. Times Change Press, Penwell-H, Washington, NJ 07882.

WAR IS NOT UNKIND by Hilliard Bernstein. Another look at Homo Sapiens as the species goes noisily marching toward extinction. ADELANTE PUBLISHERS, 918 West 31st Street, Richmond, Virginia 23225.

U.S. IMPERIALISM, liberation struggle in Southern Africa, economic and political news, feature articles. Read SOUTHERN AFRICA (244 W. 27th St., Dept. E, New York, N.Y. 10001) monthly magazine of current news. $5.00/year. Write for sample copy.

TRICONTINENTAL NEWS SERVICE is the bi-weekly magazine bringing news DIRECTLY from ASIA, AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA. Drawn from original newspapers, wire services, radio broadcasts, eyewitnesses. Subscription $12. Write for free sample: TNS, 30 East 20th St., NYC 10003.

EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVES & OPPORTUNITIES

VOLUNTEERS! Help community school finish building solar-heated family house. Write Carla, Box 41, Woodville, Va. 22749.

LITTLE BUT LIVELY, Blake College continues exploratory education. Student-centered. 300½ N. Jefferson, Eugene, Oregon.

LAND

You can still acquire Public Land FREE! Government Land Digest, Box 2217, Norman, OK 73069.

IRELAND—Traditional Thatched-Roof cottage overlooking Shannon River available monthly. All amenities. Box 1249R, Stowe, Vermont.

MOVEMENT INFORMATION

Learn about Socialism from GENERAL SOCIALISTS. Socialist Labor — fourth oldest party. Free Information. 215 West 5th Street, Room 1008, Los Angeles 90013.

SILVER BULLION, GOLD Nuggets, Quality Non-Perishable Emergency Food Supplies. WRITE: Krumpe, Box 1227, Santa Barbara, Ca., COLLECT 805-687-3492.

ACUPUNCTURE

ACUPUNCTURE TRAINING PROGRAM. Now home study course with supplies! Yuang, Box 219W, Toronto, Canada M6M 4Z2.

BUMPER STRIPS, POSTERS BUTTONS & T-SHIRTS

CARTOON T-SHIRTS!!! "SENATOR SAM ERVIN" by FISCHETTI, "CROOK", "I'M NOT A CROOK", "IMPEACH NIXON", "IMPEACHMENT WITH HONOR" by SANDERS, "EXORCISE NIXON", "TRICKY DICK", "RICHARD THE LYING HEARTED", 'DON'T BLAME ME, I VOTED DEMOCRATIC" 1/$4., 2/$7., 3/$10., 6/$18., (Sweatshirts, $6.95). SHIRT KING, Box 3893-R, Merchandise Mart, Chicago 60654.

VINYL BUMPERSTICKERS! "Visit $an Clemente (You Paid For It!)", "Jail To The Chief!", "Sisters Unite!" "Energy Crisis—Or Corporate Robbery?", "Nixon: America's No. 1 Non-Taxpayer", "More Gas And Less Nixon!" "Bust The Oil Trust!", "No Amnesty For Nixon", "Impeachment With Honor (buttons, too!)", "Nixon For Ex-President". 2/$1.25, 6/2.00, 20/$5.00. BULK/DEALER DISCOUNTS! CHECKERS ENTERPRISES, Box 942R, St. Louis, Mo. 63188.

FUCK HOUSEWORK: illustrated poster, $1.75. Others. Free catalog. We also have adult comix catalog. Ask for it! S-T Mail-order, Box 1885, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106.

IMPEACH NIXON, NIXON FOR EX-PRESIDENT, IMPEACHMENT WITH HONOR, (BUMPERSTICKERS): 30/$5., 70/$10., 250/$25., 500/$39., 1,000/$69. BUMPERSTICKER: 63 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago 60611.

"IMPEACH NIXON" Buttons, $7/100, $15/250, $25/500, $35/1000. BUTTON-KING, Box 3893-R, Merchandise Mart, Chicago 60654.

EMPLOYMENT & BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Travel, Adventure. Directory $1.00. Order today! Research Associates, Box 1167, Kailua, Hawaii 96734.

MAIL ORDER PRODUCTS

MEERSCHAUM PIPES. GUARANTEED Hand Carved from Virgin Block. Save: Conner Imports, Box 9574-R4, San Jose, Calif. 95157.

HAND CARVED BLOCK-MEERSCHAUM PIPES at 50% SAVINGS. Satisfaction GUARANTEED. Free Catalog; S.I.R., Dept. "R" P.O. Box 629, Levittown, Pa. 19058.

WATERGATE GREETING CARDS. Unique, original. Set (9 cards) for $2.50. Box 1190, Goleta, Calif. 93017.

SERVICES

MIDDLE EAST Research Information Project: literature, speakers, monthly review. Box 48, Cambridge, Ma. 02138.

INSURANCE. All Types. Competitive Rates, Personal Service. Mark Kanter, 8455 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90048. 213-651-3130.

BIOFEEDBACK

EEG-EMG-ESP equipment for research and personal use. Free catalog. Aquarius Electronics, Box 627-V, Mendocino, Calif. 95460

TAPES, CASSETTES, RECORDS, MUSIC

TAPES on Women's Movement. Protest Music and Political Struggles. RADIO FREE PEOPLE, Dept. D, 133 Mercer Street, New York, NY 10012.

"AFRICA IN REVOLUTIONARY MUSIC" New release. Best ever! 12" LP Stereo. Instrumentals and revolutionary songs recorded inside liberated Angola; Afro-Brazilian street music; Makonde dance music from Tanzania; songs from the revolution by militants of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa. $4.50. LSM Information Center, Box 94338, Richmond, B. C., Canada.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per Word (Single Insertion) 15-word Minimum	55c
Per Word 3 Consecutive Times in One Contract Year	50c
Per Word 6 Consecutive Times in One Contract Year	45c
Per Word 12 Consecutive Times in One Contract Year	40c

Payment in Advance
Classified Ads
RAMPARTS
2054 University Ave.
Berkeley, Calif. 94704

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ramparts

TO OUR NEWSSTAND READERS:
We thought you might like to see this letter which we recently sent to Ramparts subscribers.

Dear Subscriber,

It is our practice to write you occasional letters, telling you what's happening here at RAMPARTS, begging your indulgence or help, and commenting dolorously on the doings and undoings in the world of magazine publishing. Unfortunately for the country, most of our letters have described the way that print journalism is contracting; it has become for us a sort of symbol of hard times during the past few years. We have noted the disappearance of big city dailies; we have written obituaries for such giants as *Life* and the *Saturday Evening Post,* seeing in their passing an evil augury for free speech and informed opinion; and we have lamented the way that the conglomerate mentality trifled with Willie Morris's *Harper's* and left the *Saturday Review* twisting slowly in the wind. Through it all we have wondered, in A. J. Liebling's words, what good freedom of the press is if there isn't one.

But now some of the gloom has lifted. Watergate seems to have revived the press somewhat, and the Nixon strategy of subduing broadcast journalism and destroying the credibility of the *Post,* the *Times,* and other opinion-makers has failed. There is even a new magazine on the newsstands. Optimistically called *New Times,* it promises to provide the best of the New Journalism. It is the text for this sermon.

[DE RIGEUR JOURNALISM]

The New Journalism was a creature of the early Sixties, an attempt by writers to give print another dimension, to drop the pretense that human observers were ever impartial or value free, and to do justice to their feeling that the worlds of fact and fiction were closer than is usually let on. Tom Wolfe began it all, with essays that probed a whole range of cultural happenings: first the turf of Southern California hotrodders and surfers, and later the zonked-out domain of Ken Kesey's Merry Pranksters and Leonard Bernstein's guilt-ridden courtship of the Black Panthers. One was not often happy with what Wolfe said, but still delighted with his ability to say it. Then Norman Mailer swaggered into the arena, scorning such welterweight ephemera and instead taking on Sonny Liston, the character of the President, moonshots, and political conventions. He called himself "he," "Aquarius," or, more recently, "the biographer," and it soon became clear that Mailer was less interested in the event than in the way he confronted it. He made the vertical pronoun *de rigeur* in the New Journalism.

The reportage of Wolfe and Mailer hit the best-seller list. Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* became required reading along with Jimmy Breslin's newspaper columns. *Esquire* was its cradle, but the magazine most closely identified with it was *New York,* which rose up from the ashes of the New York *Herald-Tribune's* Sunday Supplement.

New York was slick, well-edited, and plugged in to the best of the New Journalists. Clay Felker was the editor. George Hirsch was the publisher, fresh from *Time-Life*. After a shaky start, *New York* found its milieu and did well by almost every market standard. It achieved rising circulation at a time when the mass circulation magazines were suffering unto death; it made money and then went public. True, the decision to restrict its audience to New York may have seemed parochial, but then the publishing industry has always vaguely felt that the rest of the nation doesn't quite exist.

Yet when editor Felker and publisher Hirsch fell out, and Hirsch left to found a new magazine conceived in the style of *New York,* he vowed it would aim at a broad national audience. Moreover Hirsch audaciously decided to avoid the traditional fund-raising strategy used by most new magazines — to woo a handful of rich investors whose motives would not be profit, for profit was one thing that no magazine publisher could promise. Instead of chasing angels to support his new project, Hirsch went straight to the American countinghouses, the big banks. His move paid off — to the tune of $1.7 million. Among *New Times'* owners are Chase Manhattan, the Bank of America, American Express, and the First National Bank of Boston.

Our intent is not to review *New Times* or to enviously gripe about its vast source of money, but to note that, rather than the beginning of something new, the story of *New Times* seems to be the end of something old, specifically the New Journalism. You will remember that we have never published much in this genre. We have respect for this kind of writing when done by skilled hands, but by now it seems to have become an orthodoxy.

This may sound strange coming from a magazine so often charged with being ideological, yet it is consistent. We fault the New Journalists with telling too little about what is actually going on and examining what can be done about it. The birth of *New Times* is an important event, but it hardly offers much hope for strengthening the dissenting press. On the contrary, we see the ability of this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

magazine to attract big bank investors as a certification of our intuition that the New Journalism has become a blue chip and is not only safe but potentially profitable.

This, no doubt, will call forth a charge of sour grapes or covetousness on our part. Let us precipitously plead innocent to the first charge and guilty to the second. Never in its short history has RAMPARTS wooed such institutional money, less out of principle perhaps than out of the knowledge that the particular lust of both parties was doomed to go unrequited. We don't want a friend at Chase Manhattan. But as far as coveting a $1.7 million bank account is concerned, hell yes we do. We have no doubts what we would do with a war chest like this.

[ENTER RAMPARTS PROMISSORILY]

Two months ago we went out on a limb here at RAMPARTS. We added a number of new writers to our pages. We did this because we are convinced that never since the beginning of the Vietnam era ten years ago has there been such an opportunity for hard-hitting and creative journalism on the Left. We don't need to tell you why: Watergate, oil, impeachment, and still more cracks in the American façade that will doubtless appear by the time you receive this letter.

There are many things we want to do: going after the kind of investigative stories the New York *Times* and the Washington *Post* refuse to cover; comprehensive analysis of crises foreign and domestic; concrete proposals for institutional change; expanded coverage of the women's movement; more thoughtful treatment of books and movies; more fiction and poetry — the list is endless. We intend to hammer out thorough, radical positions on major issues in America — education, crime and punishment, health care, transportation, taxation, government—the kinds of projects that have long distinguished RAMPARTS from the half dozen or so other Left journals in this country. Now we have the staff, but we can still use the money. And so we come to the request we've made before: for you to help us by renewing your subscription in advance.

By subscribing now, you will not only save money, but you'll also get a free hardcover copy of *The Book of Daniel* by E. L. Doctorow. *The Book of Daniel* is the most distinguished book we have ever offered. *Newsweek* called it "the best novel of the year." Writer Joyce Carol Oates reviewed it as "a nearly perfect work of art, a cause for rejoicing." *Daniel* is boldly political: its subject a fictionalized version of the Rosenberg case and the wave of anti-communist hysteria which swept America in the McCarthy years, seen in haunting flashbacks from the New Left America of the late 1960s.

Having asked for your money, we will close by asking for your ideas. Now with our revitalized staff we are more than ever eager to hear from readers about the directions you think the magazine should be taking, stories you liked, ideas for future articles. We can't always promise to answer, but we will circulate the letters among ourselves, and we do want to hear from you.

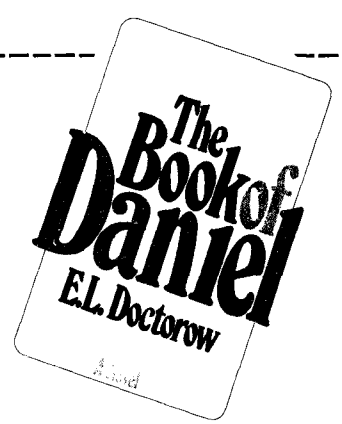
For the editors,

Patricia Scheer

WE ARE ASKING our subscribers to help us out by renewing their subscriptions now — even if they are not due to expire. Others we simply urge to subscribe.

Send me *The Book of Daniel* and sign me up for:

- ☐ One year $ 8
- ☐ Two years $ 15
- ☐ Lifetime $100
- ☐ New
- ☐ Renew
- ☐ No book, please. I'll deduct $2 from the price of my subscription.



Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

☐ My check or money order enclosed in the amount of $.....

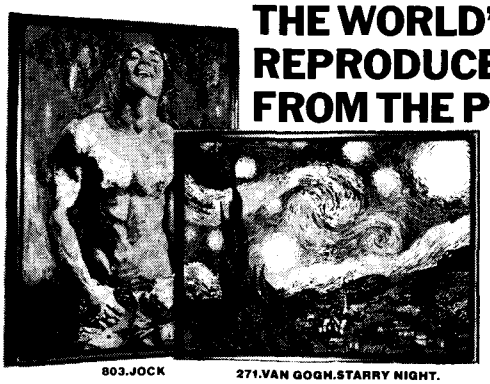
[If renewing, please include a recent address label. Canadian subscribers add 50 cents postage per year; other foreign subscribers add $1 per year.]

(Use the envelope provided, or send this to RAMPARTS, *2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California 94704.)*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SALE FABULOUS LITHOGRAPHS PRINTED 18"x24" ON ARTIST CANVAS

THE WORLD'S MOST BEAUTIFUL PAINTINGS MAGNIFICENTLY REPRODUCED IN AUTHENTIC COLORS DIRECTLY ON CANVAS FROM THE PUBLISHER WITH THREE GREAT WAYS TO ORDER.



803.JOCK 271.VAN GOGH.STARRY NIGHT.

THE CANVAS PRINT. The look, feel and thrill of original art reproduced with a big 18"x24" image directly on 20"x26" textured artist canvas. A $15 value— **$4.95**

THE MOUNTED PRINT. The canvas art is especially durable when permanently laminated to our sturdy mounting board. Measuring 18"x24" overall, the print is ready to hang or simple to frame. Hanging tabs included for only **$7.95**

THE FRAMED PRINT. The Classic Gallery Frame is elegant in design and compliments any decor. It is constructed of solid wood, hand-finished in rich ebony, trimmed with a silver chrome insert and custom fitted to the mounted canvas print. All you do is hang it up. 19"x25"x1⅜" overall, the canvas print mounted and framed for only **$19.95**

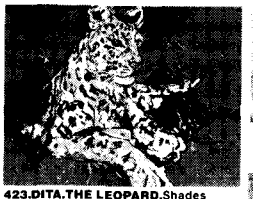
261.PICASSO.DON QUIXOTE An inspiration in black on pure white.Reg.$7.**Sale 4.95**

722.ROUSSEAU.VIRGIN FOREST. In cool,deep jungle shades of green,tan, black,yellow & blue.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**

827.REMBRANDT.LION RESTING Brown & black brushstrokes on beige.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**

818.BRADLEY.PETIT FILLE. Red,gold,black, green.Reg. $13 **Sale 4.95**

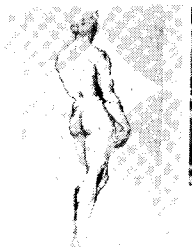
743.COWBOY. Lifelike flesh tones.Deep blues,tans,brown and black.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**



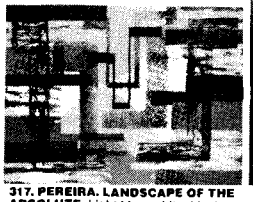
423.DITA.THE LEOPARD. Shades of gold,yellow,blue,white & black on deep forest green.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

422.DITA.RECLINING TIGER. Tans and golden browns on a background of warm yellow ochre.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

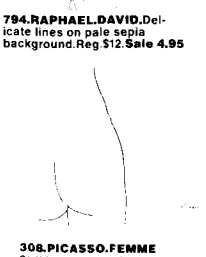
764.DA VINCI.WOMAN IN PROFILE. Subtle and mellow sepia tones.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**



794.RAPHAEL.DAVID. Delicate lines on pale sepia background.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**



317. PEREIRA. LANDSCAPE OF THE ABSOLUTE. Light blue, white, black and dark blue. Reg. $15. **Sale 4.95**



308.PICASSO.FEMME Striking line drawing in black on crisp white.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

44. RYER. SEATED NUDE. Golds, yellows, tan. Reg. $10. **Sale 4.95**

436. Poster. Black script on metallic gold with pure white. Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

401.BOSCH.GARDEN OF EARTHLY DELIGHTS. Depicting the caprices,fallabilities & vices of man in symbolic form.Shades of red,green,blue,yellow,tan. 23"x35".Reg.$20 Circle price to indicate preference. Flat **9.95** Mounted **14.95** Framed **24.95**

247.PICASSO.BLUE NUDE Pastel shades of blue,green, soft beige.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**

312.PICASSO.PETITES FLEURS. Red,yellow,blue green.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**

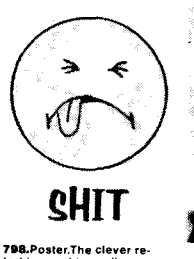
276.PICASSO.OLD GUITARIST. Shades of blue,greens and white.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**

212.VAN GOGH.SUNFLOWERS. Autumn tones of yellow.Reg.$12. **Sale 4.95**

875.WOOD.AMERICAN GOTHIC. Classic portrait in true colors.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**

796.DEGAS.NUDE. Delicate drawing in chalk grey,black on pale yellow.Reg.$14.**Sale 4.95**

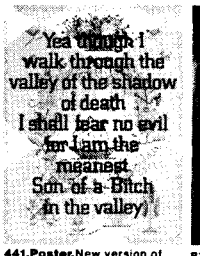
817.CEZANNE.SCIPIO Warm browns,blue,grey,flesh tones.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**



798. Poster.The clever retort in sunshine yellow on pure white.Reg.$6.**Sale 4.95**

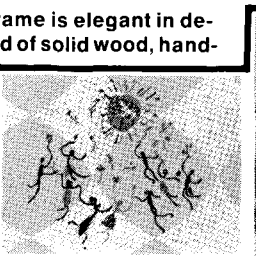
350.RYER.COME TOGETHER. Brown,flesh,yellows.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

843.D.S.EROS. The god of Love.Soft,warm flesh tones on tan.Reg.$13.**Sale 4.95**



441.Poster. New version of the 23rd psalm.Bright yellow & black.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

836.D.S.DAVID. Sensual & warm flesh tones on rich,dark navy blue. Reg. $15. **Sale 4.95**



746.PICASSO.HOMAGE TO THE SUN. Lines in red,blue,green,yellow on pure white.Reg.$12. **Sale 4.95**

498.LAUTREC.JANE AVRIL. Red,black,beige,grey orange.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

769.RYER.LOVERS. Rich browns,flesh & golden yellows.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

844.LAUTREC.THE BED. Creamy shades of gold,reds,flesh and soft white.Reg. $15 **Sale 4.95**

807.MICHELANGELO.CREATION OF MAN. Flesh tones on soft blue green,tan.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**

852.MICHELANGELO.PERSIAN BOY. Subtle & mellow sepia.Reg.$10. **Sale 4.95**

838.VAN GOGH.CROWS OVER CORNFIELD. Stormy blue, gold,green,tan,white 16"x33".Reg.$25. Circle price to indicate preference. Flat **9.95** Mounted **14.95** Framed **24.95.**

LAMBERT STUDIOS DEPT.RA49

910 N. La Cienega Blvd., Los Angeles, CA. 90069

Please indicate your preferences by circling the prices below.

Print #	Title	Flat	Mounted	Framed
		4.95	7.95	19.95
		4.95	7.95	19.95
		4.95	7.95	19.95
		4.95	7.95	19.95

POSTAGE AND HANDLING **PLEASE ADD 95¢ PER ORDER PLUS $1.00 PER ITEM FOR MOUNTED OR FRAMED PRINTS**

Total Items ___ Total Price ___ Total handling ___ Total applicable sales tax ___

I enclose ___ or charge my ☐ Amer Exprs ☐ Bank Amer ☐ Masr Chrg bank name ___

Account # ___

Expiration date ___

Signature ___

SEND 50¢ FOR OUR FULL COLOR CATALOGUE

Name ___

Address ___

City ___ State ___ Zip ___

REPRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Deodato

Whirlwinds

Is Now On
.MCA RECORDS

Includes: Ave Maria
West 42nd Street, Moonlight Serenade

MCA-410

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED